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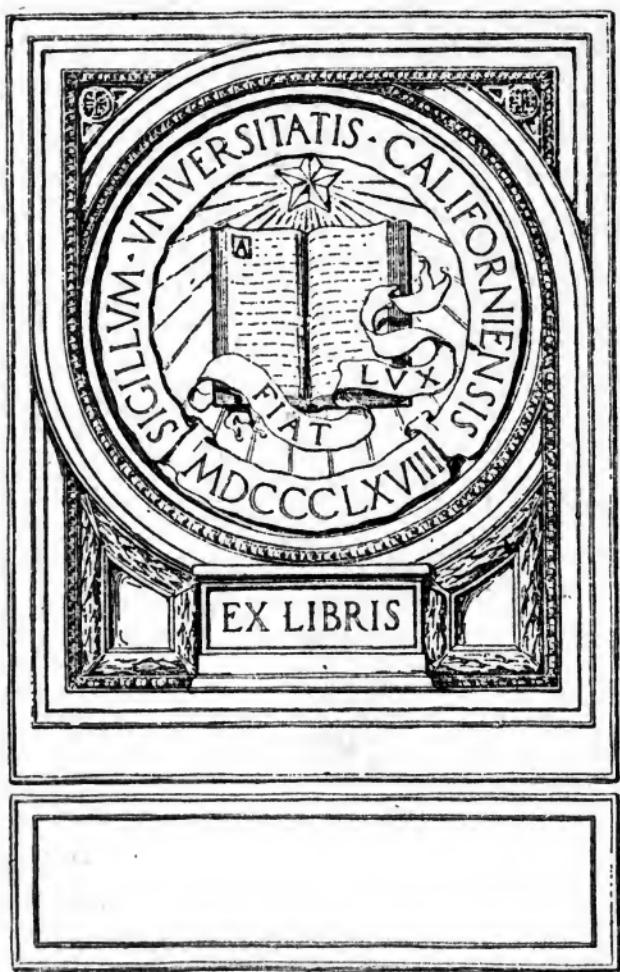


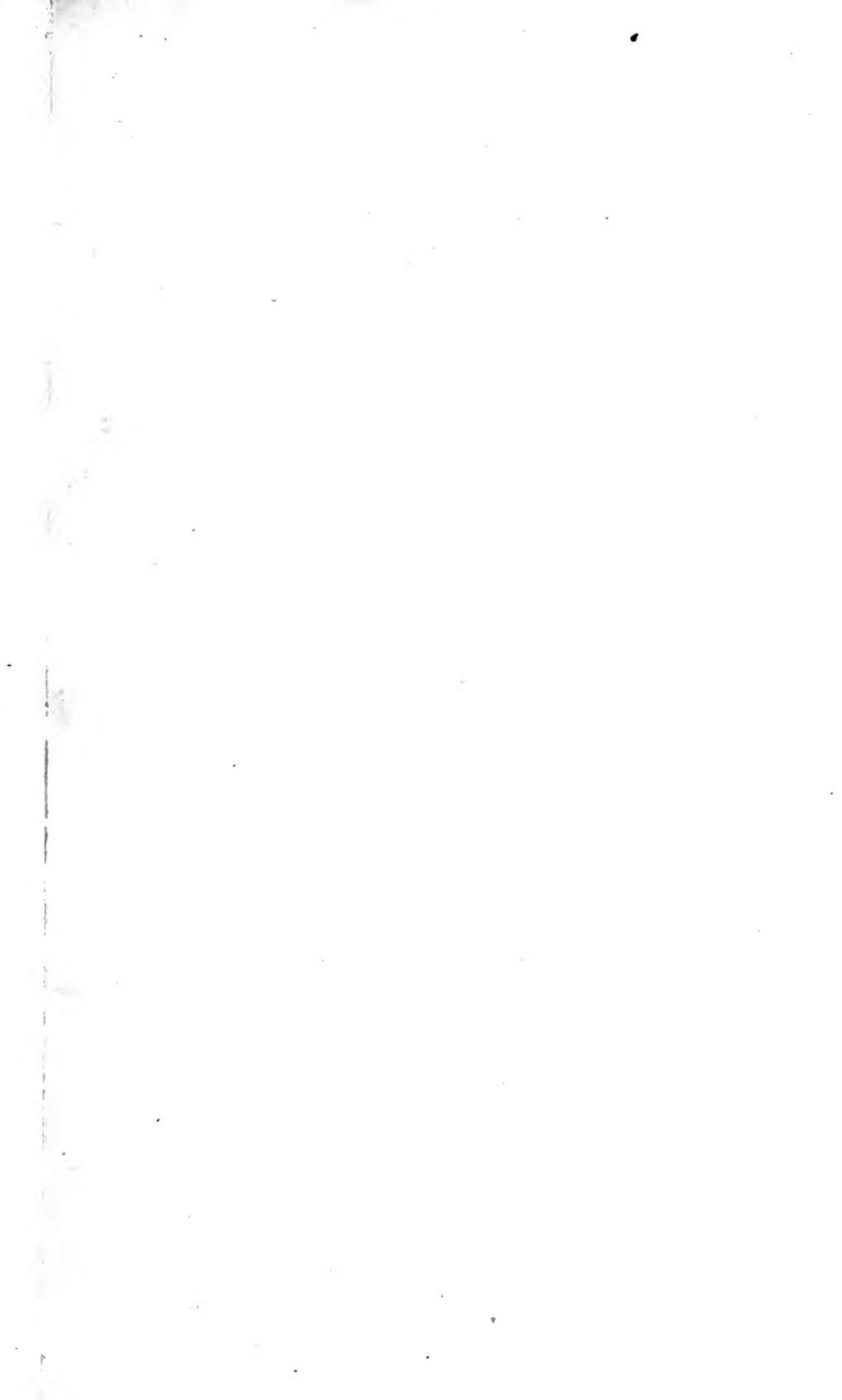
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THROUGH LITERATURE

AMERICA
AND THE
LEAGUE of NATIONS
ADDRESSES IN EUROPE
BY ODROW WILSON

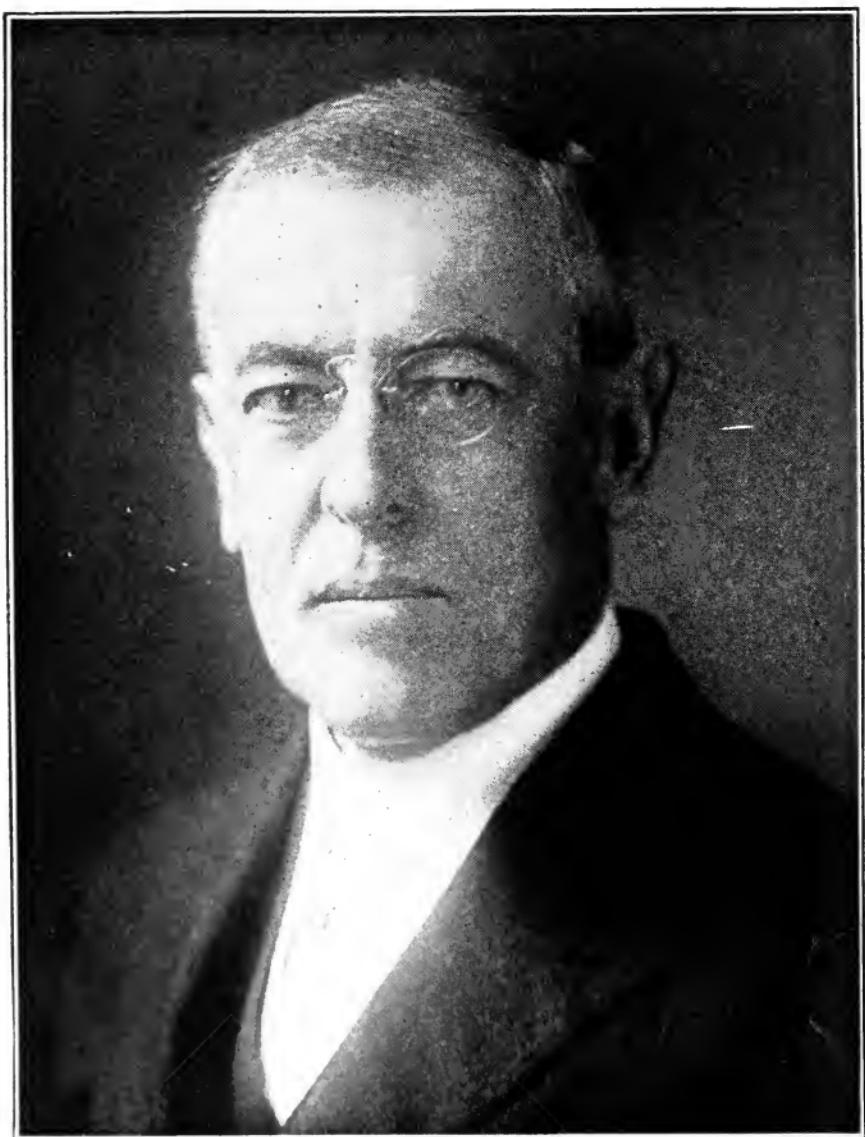
POWEILL-HODGINS







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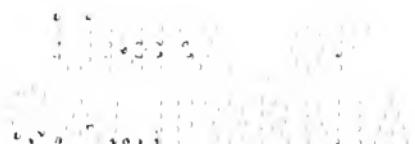
WOODROW WILSON

PATRIOTISM THROUGH LITERATURE

AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE *of* NATIONS

ADDRESSES IN EUROPE
WOODROW WILSON

Compiled by
LYMAN P. POWELL
AND
FRED B. HODGINS



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CHICAGO NEW YORK

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AMERICAN



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THE ITINERARY

1918		
November	18	Announces intention to visit Europe.
	29	Announces names of American Peace delegates.
December	3	Addresses Congress.
	3	Leaves Washington.
	4	Embarks at Hoboken on the "George Washington" and sails for France.
	4-13	At sea.
	13	Arrives at Brest and proceeds to Paris.
	13	Arrives at Paris.
	13-24	In Paris.
	25	Spends Christmas with American troops at Chaumont. Sends greetings to American people.
	26	Arrives at London.
	28	His sixty-second birthday.
	29	Visits mother's home and speaks in grandfather's church at Carlisle.
	30	Visits Manchester, makes two addresses.
1919		
January	3	Arrives at Rome.
	3-5	In Rome.
	6	Visits Milan, Genoa, and Turin.
	7	Back in Paris.
	18	Formal opening of the Peace Conference.
	25	Addresses Conference on the League of Nations.
February	3	To the Chamber of Deputies.
	14	The World League plan is presented to the Conference.
	15	The President embarks on the "George Washington" for home.
	25	The President in Boston.
	25	Returning to Washington.
March	4	The President in New York.

ILLUSTRATIONS





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Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson are preëminent among American Presidents for their art of literary expression. President Wilson is here shown writing a message to Congress.



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Not since Jefferson has any President before Woodrow Wilson appeared in person to address Congress. At first his unconventionalality was the subject of discussion. Now the precedent is established.



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After getting his sea legs the President is keenly interested in every detail of life on the "George Washington," and he is here seen, binoculars in hand, watching, like Columbus, for a sight of land. At the left is Captain McCauley; at the right, Rear Admiral Grayson.

3-5966

NO.	DAY	TIME	NUMBER AND MARKS OF THE PIGEONS RELEASED

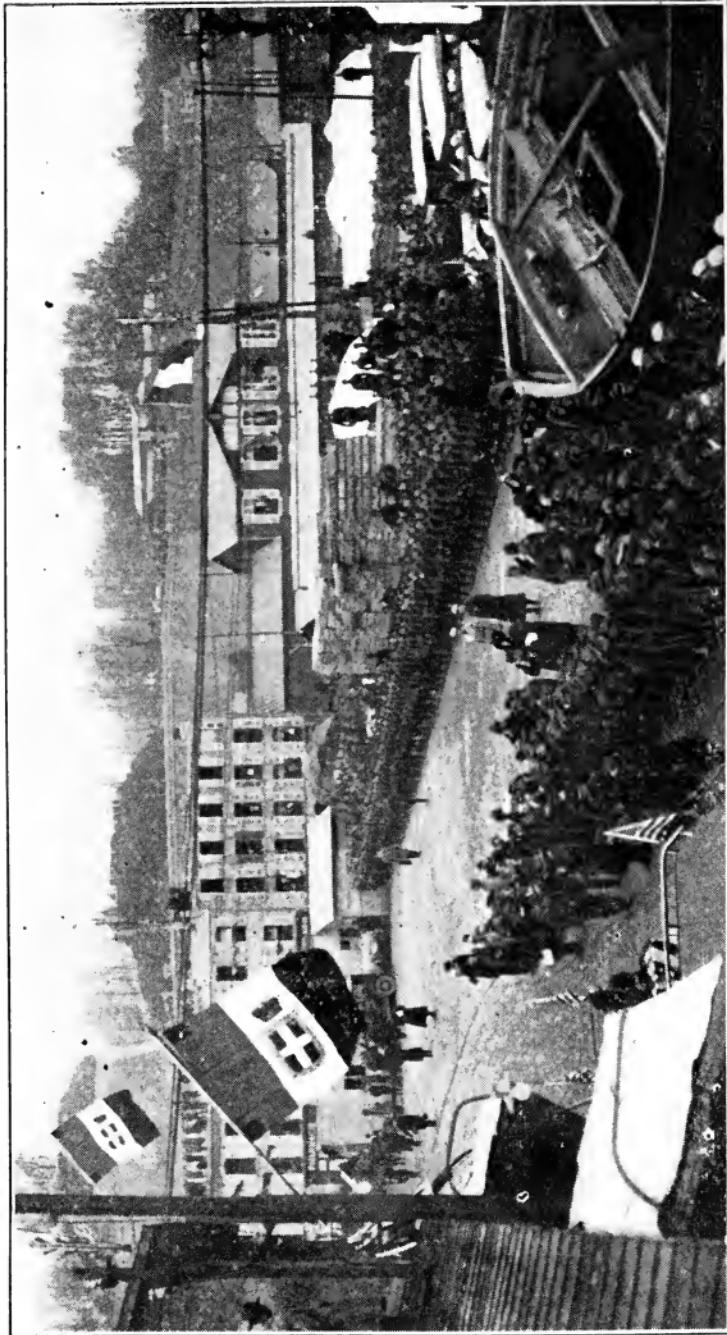
August 3 PM 4th

Admiral Gleaves
 Port of Embarkation
 Sincere appreciation by the charming
 arrangements made
 for our comfort
 Woodrow Wilson

Edith Bolling Wilson
 No. 1466 [DUPLICATE.]

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As the "George Washington" sails eastward, President and Mrs. Wilson send back by carrier pigeon this letter of appreciation to Rear Admiral Gleaves, who was responsible for their comfort and safety.



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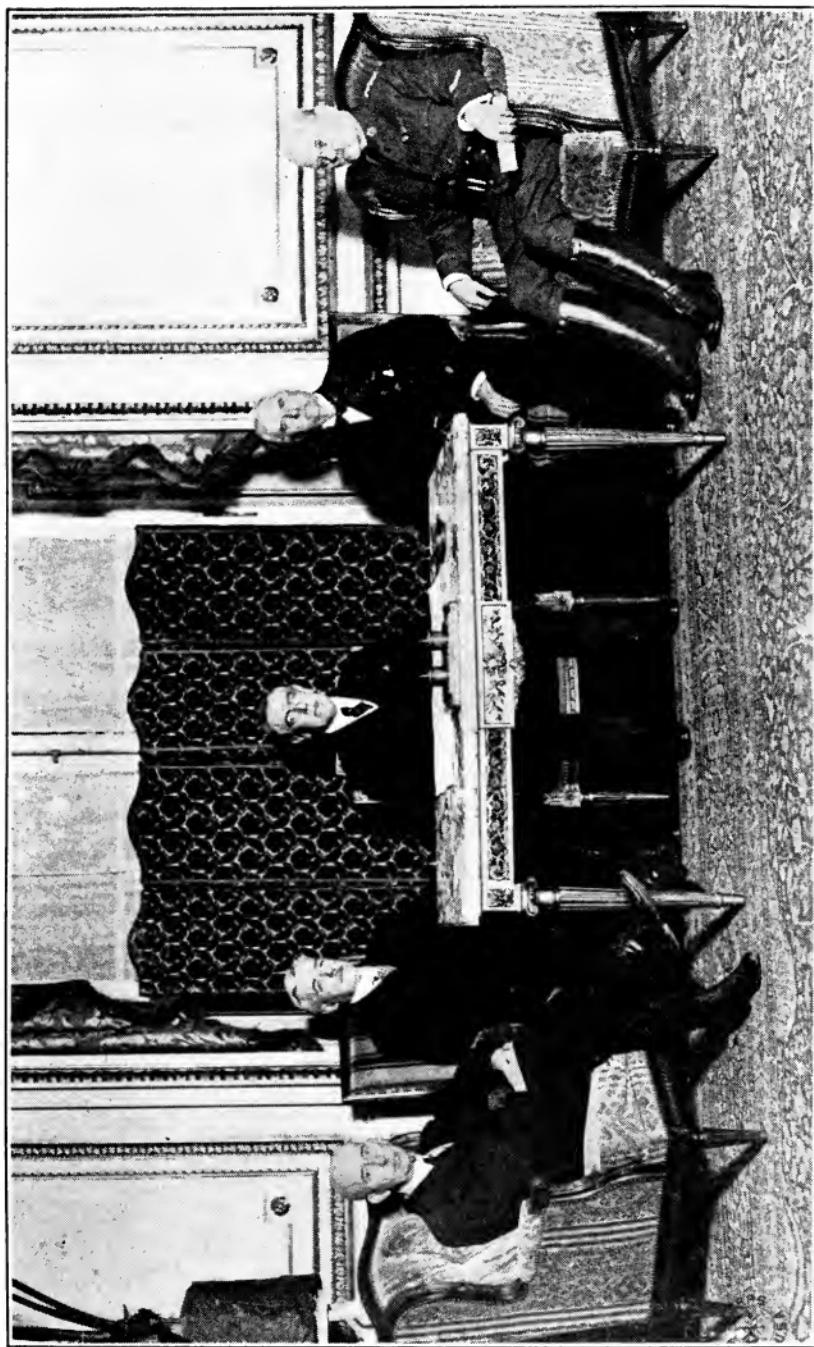
The presidential party is disembarking at Brest. Never before in the history of the world has any docking port been so rapidly transformed into a modern and efficient receiving station for supplies and troops far exceeding a million. Uncle Sam did it.

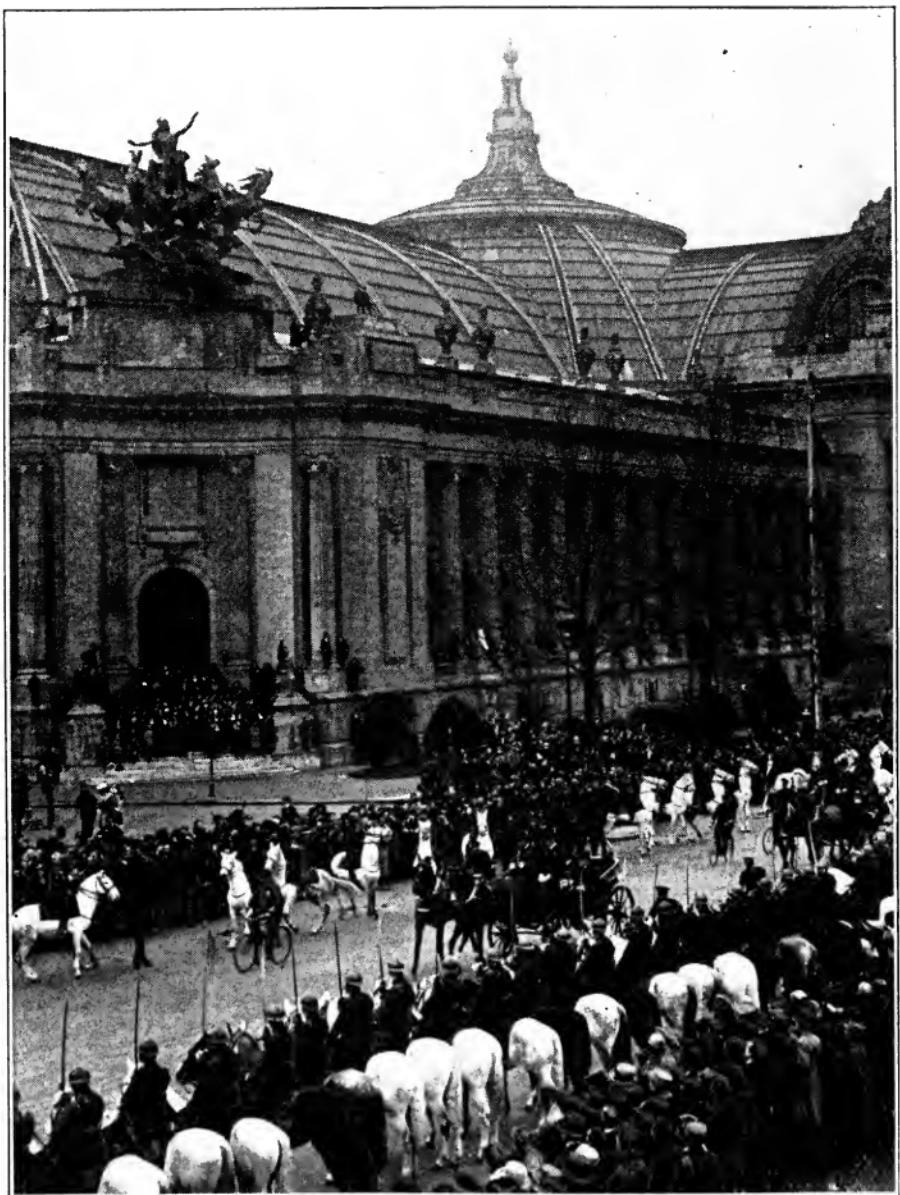


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Prince Murat represents the quintessence of French culture. His mansion is graciously placed at the service of the White House party. The President and Mrs. Wilson are crossing the threshold.

The first photograph to reach America of our Peace delegates at Versailles. Colonel House, Secretary Lansing, the President, Mr. White, and General Bliss from left to right make up the delegation.





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Paris welcomes the President on the magnificent boulevard in front of the Grand Palais.



Copyright International Film Service

The President attends the American Church his first Sunday in Paris.

From the Arc de Triomphe the presidential party drives down the Champs Élysées, dear to every American heart.



Our doughboys are glad on Christmas Day in the morning to see their Constitutional Commander-in-Chief with General Pershing at his left "over there" in Chaumont.





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Why do the French love our boys? One of our jolly marines is playing humpty-dumpty for two French kiddies who had almost forgotten how to play before our boys arrived.



Copyright International Film Service

Our troops and tanks file by the reviewing stand as all America in the person of our Chief Magistrate pronounces the "Well done" merited and universally acknowledged.



Copyright International Film Service
At Senlis, where unfriendly hands had done their worst, the plain people are drifting back to see
our President welcomed by the Generalissimo of the Allies, Marshal Foch.

UNITED STATES
CALIFORNIA



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They meet

Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat;
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends
of the earth.



Copyright International Film Service

Between stout British troopers the President approaches the Guildhall in London under "The Star-Spangled Banner, long may it wave."



Copyright International Film Service

The Lord Mayor presents the freedom o' London to our Executive in the Guildhall in the presence of Mrs. Wilson, Winston Churchill, the Duke of Connaught, the Earl of Chesterfield, Sir Andrew Fisher, Austen Chamberlain, Lord Curzon, Arthur J. Balfour, the Bishop o' London, Sir Robert Borden, the Archbishop of Canterbury, General Birdwood, Field Marshal Haig, General Botha, Lloyd George, Lord Reading, Admiral Wemyss, and Andrew Bonar Law.



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American democracy and British democracy need no names to designate them.

The welcome to Manchester by American girls and their British kin.



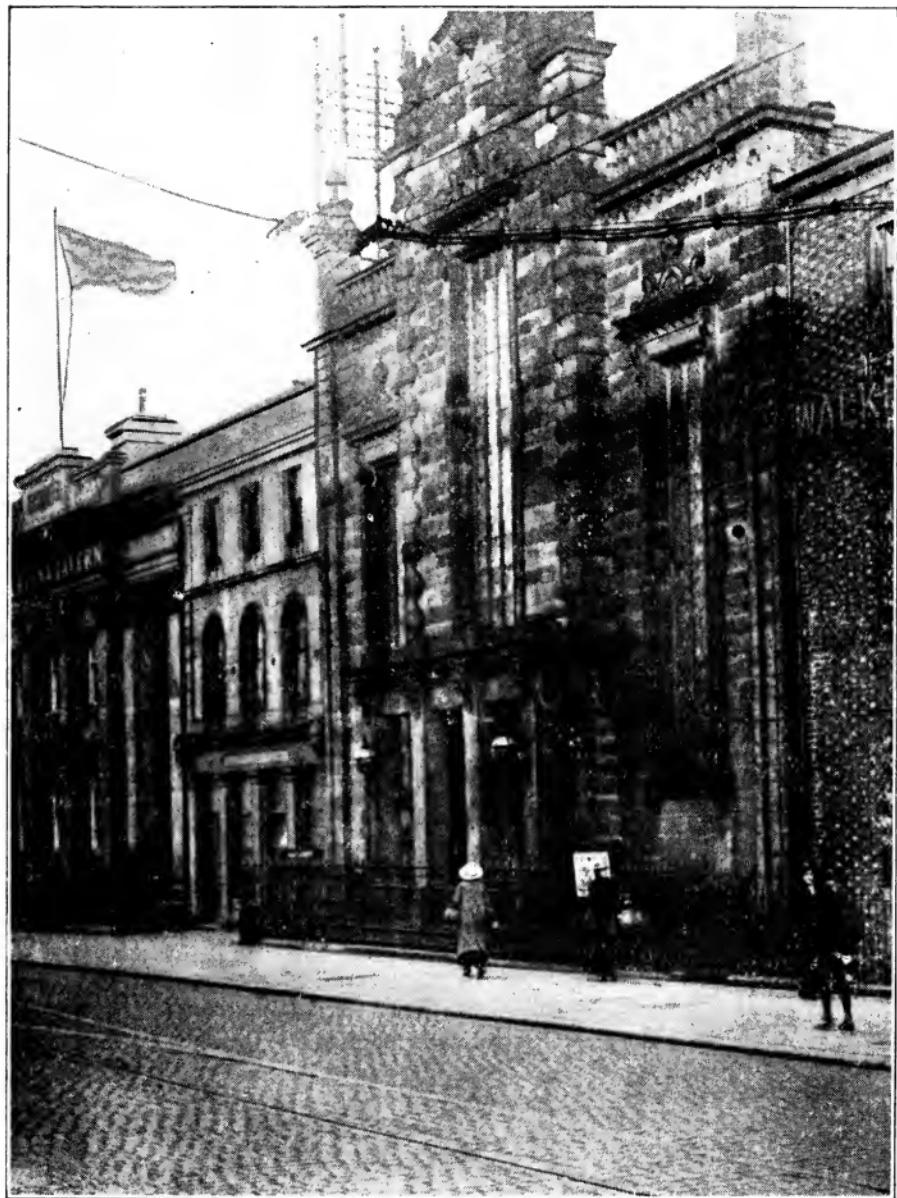
WOODROW WILSON
ARRIVED IN MANCHESTER



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Woodrow Wilson's response to the welcome at Manchester.

UNIVERSITY OF
CARLISLE, ENGLAND



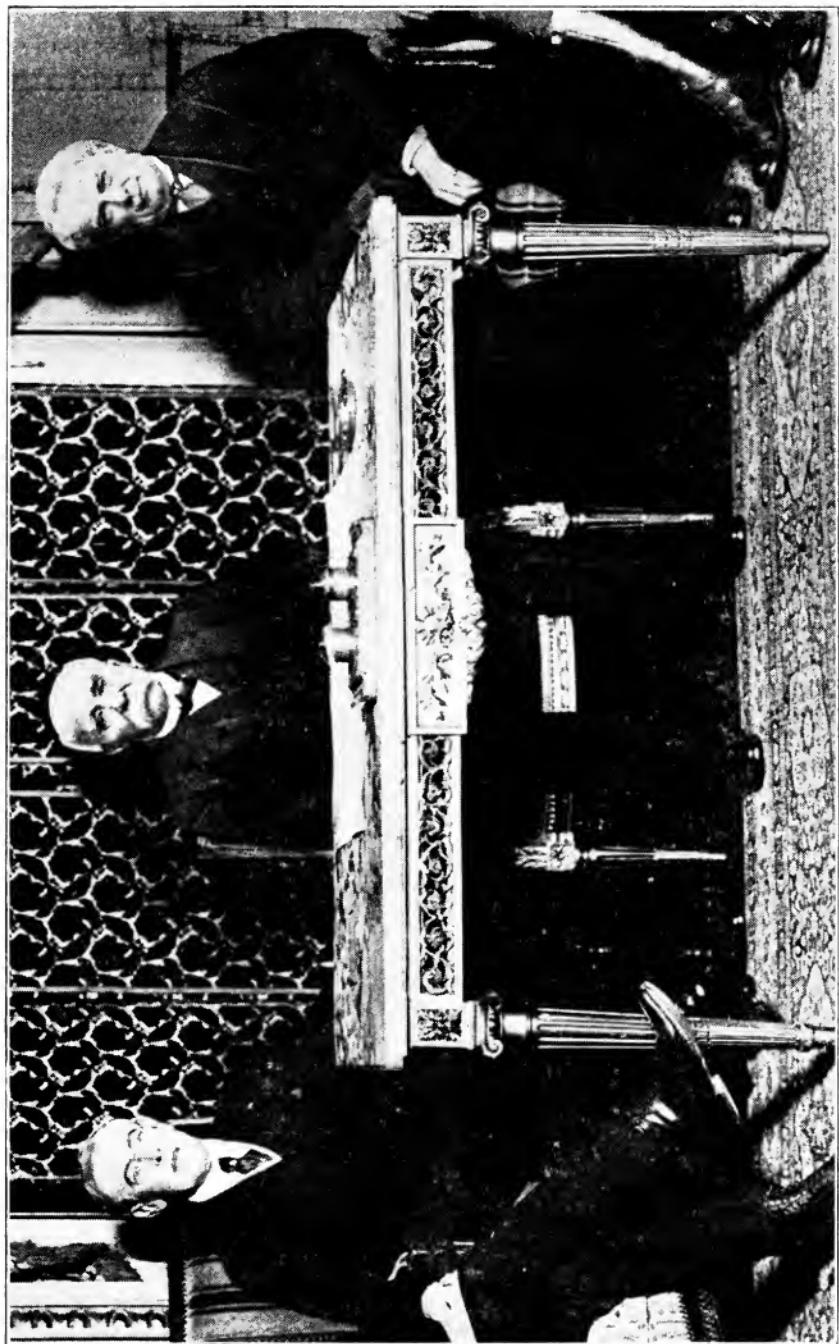
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In Lowther Street Church, Carlisle, where the Reverend Thomas Woodrow, grandfather of the President, once preached, his namesake spoke in December. It is noteworthy that the President was named in full for his grandfather, but dropped the "Thomas" years ago.



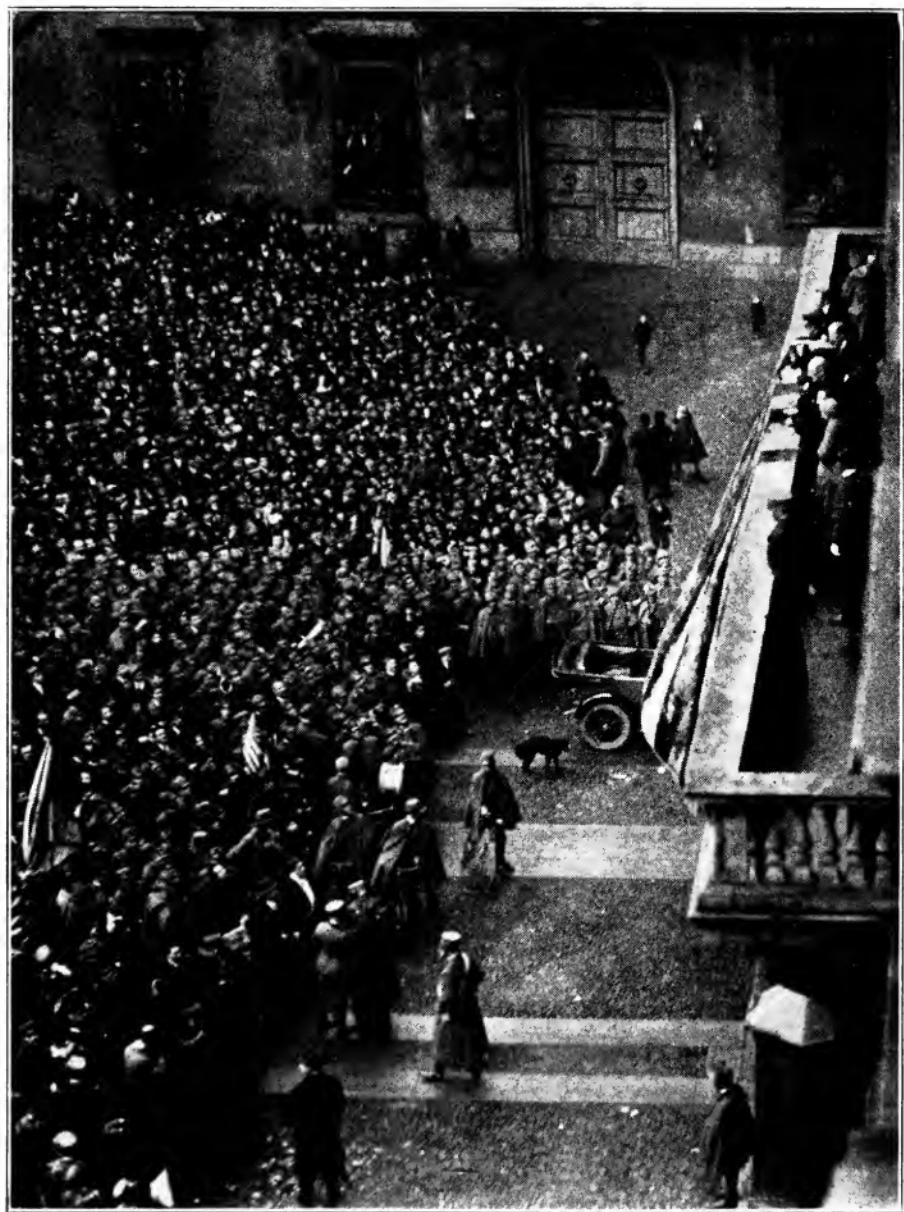
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One member of his grandfather's Bible class, Thomas Watson, survived to greet the President at the age of ninety.



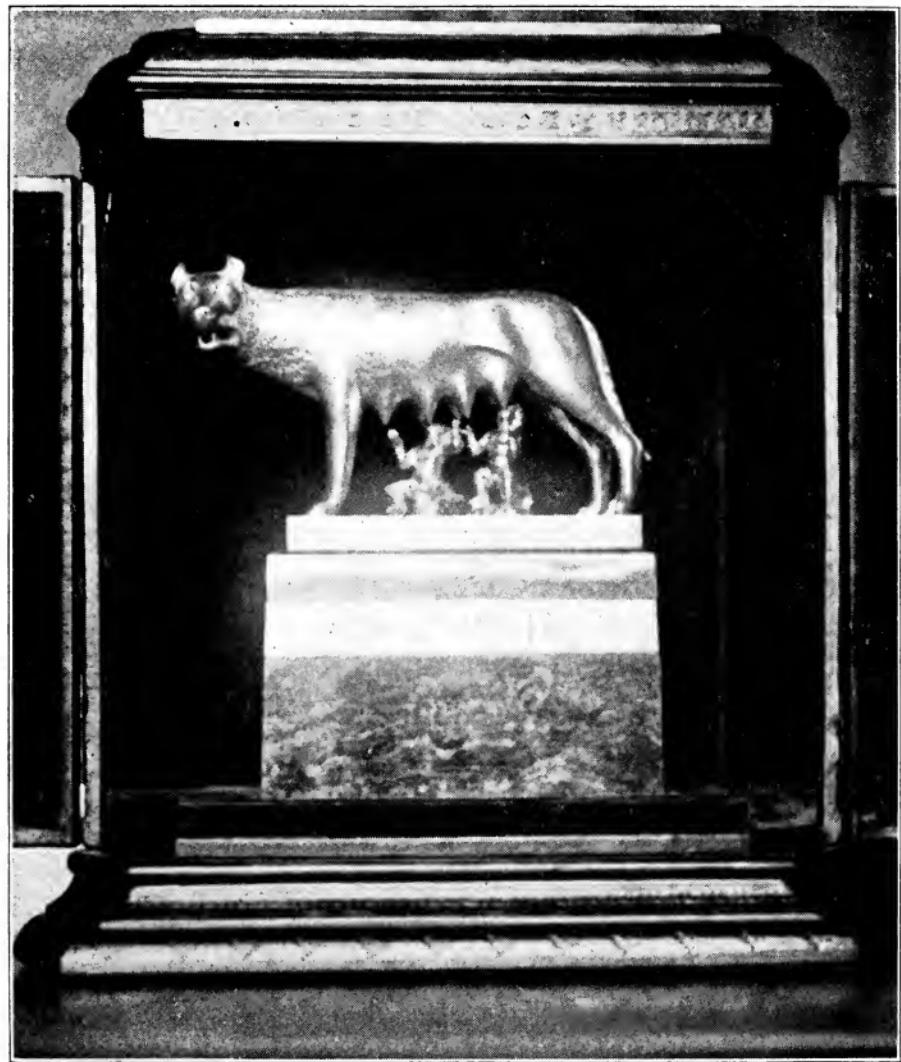
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The three strong men at the great Conference—Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George. All of them are proud to be called "Mister."



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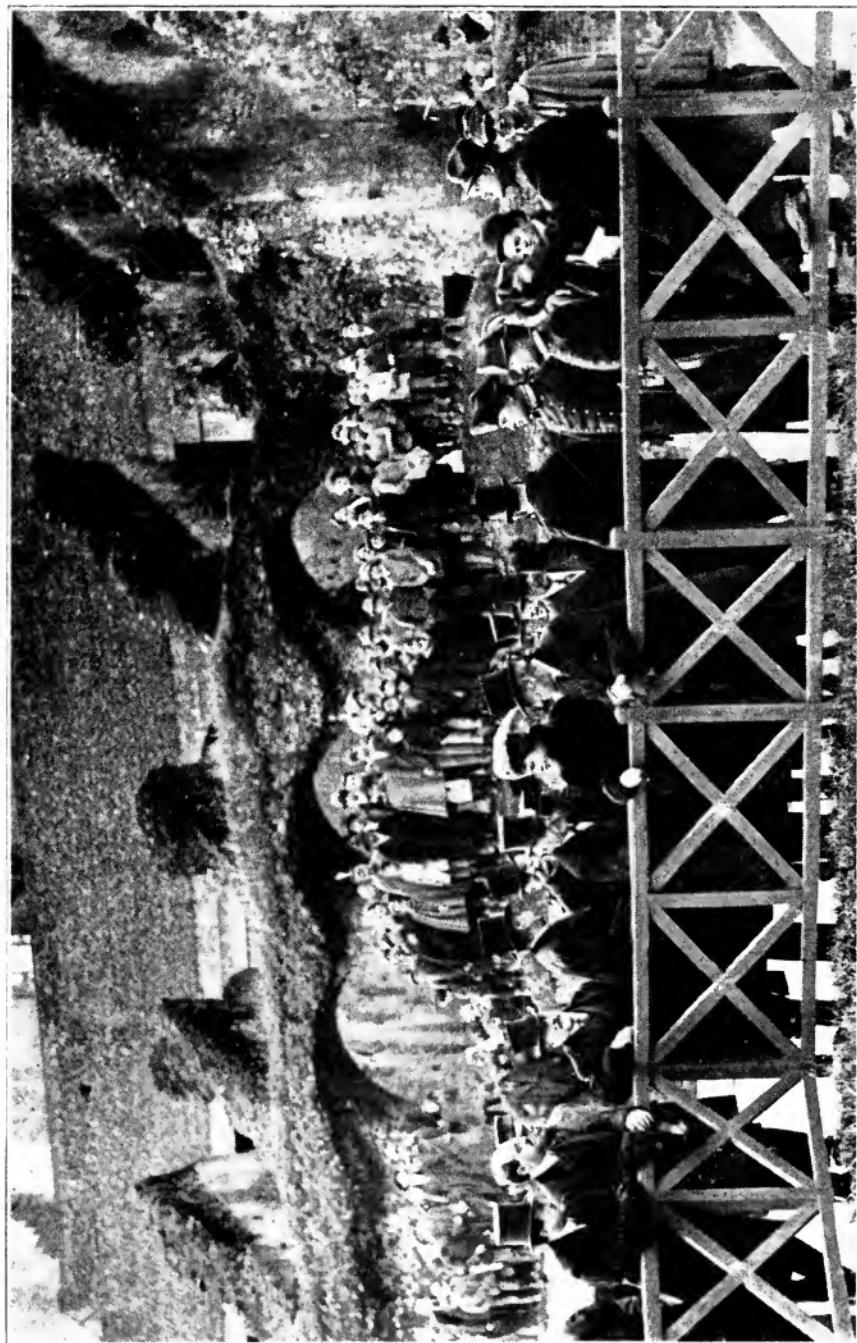
Rome, the Eternal, at last welcomes an American Executive. He speaks to the applauding mass from the balcony of the Royal Palace.



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The Mayor of Rome presents to Mrs. Wilson the Gold Wolf, reminder of the days of Romulus and Remus.

TO MILITARY ADMIRALTY



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The presidential party and Italian leaders at the Pantheon.



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Woodrow Wilson, bringing flowers to the Forum, recalls the days when he was a student at Princeton and Johns Hopkins and the name of the Forum was often on his lips as the inspiration to effective public speaking, in which he now ranks with the greatest of all time.



Copyright International Film Service

The Coliseum calls up rich memories to such an authority in world history as Woodrow Wilson, whose face here carries the impression the experience makes.



Copyright International Film Service

The President with the King of Italy, whose service to his country has been as important as it has been democratic.



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The arrival of the President at Milan.



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The King of Prussia was crowned Emperor of Germany in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on January 19, 1871.



Copyright International Film Service

On January 19, 1919; another group was gathering on the same spot to make the world safe for democracy. Lloyd George and General Pershing are in the foreground.

INTRODUCTION



AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

WHY WOODROW WILSON WENT TO EUROPE

THE TWO GREAT DAYS

November 11, 1918, and January 25, 1919, will forever stand together in the memory of man. If the Armistice ended war, on November 11, the President's speech at the second session of the Peace Conference, on January 25, assured peace to the world. Like a crusader, Woodrow Wilson spoke of the incomparable moral adventure which the Conference was making and declared the world a place perfectible.

After him England, France, Italy, Australia, Poland, and China expressed approval and agreed that a League of Nations must be an integral part of peace and open to all nations worthy of world confidence. Then a committee was empowered to "work out the details of the constitution and functions of the League," and the President of the United States was made chairman. Thus was born at a precise moment a League of Nations, and the principle of lasting peace was agreed upon in circumstances no one conversant with the record of the world's conventions will be inclined to doubt.

A BACKWARD LOOK

Now we can begin to look back on the past with perspective. Austria precipitated the war by her impossible note to Serbia. But the German government stood back of Austria, chose the moment for the declaration, and staged the most colossal calamity of all time.

The roots of war, however, strike deeper down than the unexpected events following the shot fired at Sarajevo. Far back in 1648 the Congress of Westphalia tried in vain to satisfy both Catholic and Protestant. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes followed, however, even while some members of that congress were still living. Progress was made at Utrecht in 1714, but the iniquitous slave trade was simply transferred from Spain discredited to England triumphant, and the exploitation of the negro is still pursued, especially in Africa.

The Congress of Vienna met in 1814 to punish France and hastily adjourned to escape Napoleon back from Elba to fight his Waterloo. The Congress had been animated by the honorable purpose both of settling immediate difficulties and of creating a world order no cataclysm could upset. But Talleyrand, cleverest of diplomatists of the old school, was playing off against each other in the interest of France the factions into which the Congress had been broken. The results in consequence were chiefly futile, and the only world order there established was quickly prostituted to the uses in 1823 of that so-called Holy Alliance, which bolstered up the thrones that tottered and created new ones where it could.

A PARLOUS STATE

From 1815 to the Franco-Prussian War the world was in a parlous state, save over here where the Monroe Doctrine was announced in 1823, virtually absolving America from all responsibility for Europe, and in addition warning Europe from all interference in the Western Hemisphere, particularly south of the Rio Grande.

Year after year the story was the same. England, France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, thought they had put all Europe in its proper place and that Europe would stay put.

Canning summed the situation up in the sentence: "Every nation for itself, and God for us all." But God is never for us all when we are for ourselves, and there is always—in the homely phrase—a hindmost which the devil gets and uses to make trouble for the rest.

Two movements were perceptible to those who had the eyes to see. In England and in France democracy was making rapid headway, and now and then convulsive exhibitions of it were furnished even in the Czar's domain. To be sure, England was as usual pursuing a policy of self-promotion, but the democratic spirit was growing steadily on both sides of the channel, and—as Professor Cestre of the Sorbonne testifies—England was lending all encouragement to real democracy wherever it appeared.

Prussia's course was different. She pretended much. She conceded little. In the Revolution of 1848, which promised things worth having, she lost many of her finest spirits to America. Bismarck, bent on elevating Prussia to the premiership in Central Europe, was gathering the reins into his hard fists. He lured Austria to help him steal Schleswig-Holstein, and two years later, in 1866, with the help of the new needle gun at Sadowa, he cleared the way for war with France in 1870 and for crowning in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on January 19, 1871, the King of Prussia Emperor of all the German states.

THE OLD DIPLOMACY

There was a Paris Conference in 1856 to end the War in the Crimea, but it was under the spell of the Metternich diplomacy. It made no contribution to democracy. It failed abjectly to secure stability for Europe, and in the twenty years that followed, war succeeded war so swiftly that when the Congress of Berlin met in 1878 the Russians

were camping in plain view of Constantinople, Turkey retained but a slippery foothold in Europe, and the Balkan peninsula was so divided as to give Bulgaria a chance to enter on an inglorious career of mischief-making for the world.

Had Bismarck, Beaconsfield, and their companions of the Congress had a bigger vision for the Balkans and Armenia, the recent war need never have occurred. But the little good accomplished through the Peace of San Stefano earlier in the year was rudely undone. The greater powers represented at the Berlin Congress thought the thoughts of selfishness and spoke the words of greed. The smaller nation, whose right to be has been at last established in this recent war, was trampled under diplomatic feet. The hurt already done to millions was not healed. Even Christian peoples, whom the Mohammedan was pledged by the very terms of his faith to treat as "dogs," were handed back to Turkey. The train was laid for the outbreak in the Balkans and for the ravishment and ruin of the whole Near East.

The delegates adjourned with "one auspicious and one dropping eye" for one another. The "armed peace" followed, with Europe divided into groups, each building up its army or its navy, Germany both; and all Europe was driven on toward a general war which had to come without a change of heart none could expect in such a situation.

THE GERMAN POLICY

For while England and France and Italy were developing a real democracy, and even Russia called the first Hague Conference in 1899 to insure the world against the fire men whispered in their sleeves might break out any time, Germany was gathering the fruits of international

unrelatedness into her imperial storehouse of autocracy. Her amazing and glittering success, turned to the discredit of all democratic aspirations, was expressed in the phrase "intelligent monarchy," which the Kaiser and the Potsdam Gang were fond of using and of reinforcing with old-age pensions, accident insurance, and ordered life flung down from above to ordinary people like the "bread and circuses" of Roman Kaiserism.

France, wounded to the heart by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, was in recent years endeavoring with characteristic adaptability to get used to her heart hurt. But it is doubtful that Germany ever thought a second time about the matter, except to attach to herself, as closely as a thief could, the stolen provinces. Prussian liberals sometimes demanded true parliamentary government in place of the camouflage of military glory and pan-Germanic dreaming. When Social Democrats became a force with which to reckon a few years ago, *Der Tag*, for which the Junkers long had planned and of which they loved to boast, was hurried forward, and in July, 1914, deliberately ushered in.

DER TAG

The only wonder is that Great Britain, France, and the United States could have been so long deceived. Our friends across the seas, still somewhat enmeshed in an antique diplomacy, could not think that war would really come. When *Der Tag* actually dawned, they stood bewildered, stunned, incredulous. For days and days in England people could not for the life of them believe that war had really come. On August 9, 1914, when England was already in her second week of the great war, an American attending Sunday morning service in a small English city heard no reference in sermon or in prayer to the supreme

event. No patriotic hymn was sung. The pastor made appeal instead for a small mission down in Africa. It was evident that no one present seriously thought of war. It was only in fact in the great university centers, always in ages past first to respond to their country's call, that the situation was immediately accepted.

The years go fast in Oxford,
The golden years and gay,
The hoary Colleges look down
On careless boys at play.
But when the bugles sounded war
They put their games away.

CAUGHT UNPREPARED

Over here the situation was not visualized. The newspapers had good "copy." Magazines hurried off their special writers to the battle scene. There was a flurry in Wall Street. We all began to read Bernhardi and von Treitschke with increasing certainty that some men in the world were mad, at least "North North West." Militarism had gone to the head of Central Europe. But we were three thousand miles away, and the war at first was but another of the many wars it was our duty to avoid. Men like Major Putnam and James M. Beck were our Paul Reveres, calling us at once to arms. Others, obsessed by abstract admiration of German methods in education, trade, and industry, were half confident that German efficiency again would win. Some were really pro-German, and a reading of their printed utterances in the fall of 1914 justifies the distrust many felt in them.

WE LOOKED FOR LEADERSHIP

We all looked to the White House. We knew our President's temperament, training, encyclopedic knowledge, and opportunities for inside information. We trusted him to

tell us what to do. When he announced his policy of neutrality, and even bade us to be neutral in our thoughts, many of us tried, with what now seems to be pathetic confidence, to follow his directions. Men successful in business and the professions knew that when the great crisis comes victories are not won by debating societies but by leadership. We therefore heeded Woodrow Wilson. Never has the head of any nation received a more unquestioning support. Even Colonel Roosevelt, at the very first, played the game according to the rules prescribed by the government. Journals like the *Outlook* in that first fatal autumn, while maintaining editorial independence, published articles on either side of the question that no one might be doubtful of their fairness. The *Review of Reviews*, though in September, 1914, roundly scoring the invasion of Belgium, accepted the policy of neutrality, insisting until the last, however, that neutrality be enforced to the utmost, confident—as “constant reader” knows—that positive and peremptory neutrality would either end the war aright in a short time or take us in on the right side.

A CRYSTALLIZING CONSCIENCE

Everybody knows how public sentiment rapidly and steadily crystallized around the Allied Cause, how we gave moral and financial aid to those we now all know were fighting our own war as well as theirs, how our boys by the thousands were drifting into Canada, England, France, to mingle their life blood under the Union Jack or under the Tricolor with the soil of *la belle France*.

With the sinking of the “Lusitania” came a quickening of public conscience. Good Americans and true began to realize that German propagandists were doing their foul

work with some effect among our people. Here and there were poison spots where men seemed sure that Germany was invincible. Behind veiled eyes and lips sealed except to double dealing, like the scientific scholars they had been taught in Germany or by German teachers to adore, they bulked far bigger in public estimation than was their desert. They brought us all concern.

The election of 1916 unhappily injected politics into the situation. "He kept us out of war" became the campaign cry on one side, while on the other there was manifest reluctance to announce a program different and more constructive than the President's had been. But by that time the number urging us to war was steadily growing, and national participation in the war was increasingly discussed.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT

The election over, the President began to ask Allies and Central Powers, too, some searching questions. Notes were interchanged. The submarine campaign was soon renewed. Von Bernstorff was sent home. On April 2, 1917, the President put the case to Congress, and four days later we were in the war. We were not prepared. The goose-step was unknown to us. We set ourselves in various ways to learn the quickstep. Slowly at first our soldiers drifted over. Then, as everybody realized that Germany was making ready for the Western drive last March, the cry of "hurry up" went forth. In every state in our great land the patriotic impulse found expression, and Washington took notice.

Soon the British for a proper compensation loaned us transports, while the French also did their full share. By July we had more than a million in the battle line. The Marines swept everything before them at Château-Thierry,

in spite of the resistance offered by the Prussian Guard. Pershing's men in one day straightened out that salient at St. Mihiel which, with Metz impregnable so near at hand, had been regarded as a doubtful task of many weeks. Young, fresh, unwearied, jocular, fascinatingly impudent, eager to obey any order except the order to retreat, our boys came in so strong and fought so hard as to put into the weary British, French, and Italian hearts new confidence in themselves and for us a love which will not let us go in all the years to come if we but half deserve to hold it.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE FOE

Foch, Generalissimo of all the forces beating at the Central Powers, hammered rapidly, simultaneously, irresistibly, on every front. *Der Tag* had come, but it was for Germany the day of doom. Her army found itself outclassed by forces with resources back of them no Junker could persuade the German people were less than inexhaustible. The final notes were written. The Armistice was signed at the headquarters of the Generalissimo on November 11. The German fleet ceased to paddle up and down the Kiel Canal, sailed over on November 21 to the Firth of Forth, surrendered—an amazing spectacle in history—to a foe they feared to fight, and

I wonder what Cervera thought
When, to the wide and silent sea,
That dull November morning brought
The broken fleet of Germany:—
Those dumb grey hulks that never knew
The glory of a hope forlorn,
Whose long dishonored banners flew
Only to feel their foemen's scorn.¹

¹ Quoted from *The Outlook*, November 21, 1918. Written by Harold Trowbridge Pulsifer.

SETTLING DOWN TO PEACE

Meanwhile the American people, with the worst war of all time brought to an end, reacted as peace-loving people always do. We had never wished to fight. We went into the war because it was no longer possible both to keep out and keep our self-respect. After November 11 we wanted our boys home. They could fight—as the “Blue Devils” testified—like devils, when there was fighting to be done; but in fighting for its own sake they had no interest, and when the war was over their thoughts turned home again. We, as well as they, had made a record in the circumstances unsurpassed by any nation in the history of the world. When the dove of peace alighted out of a German automobile at the headquarters of General Foch, we were launching two ships a day and filling the air with fighting planes. In ten months we had turned a three-hundred-acre farm near Baltimore into the largest poison factory ever built. We were making two hundred tons of toxic gases every day to drop upon the Germans, mostly from the air, while at the utmost they could make but fifty tons a day. With our usual disregard of cost and of conventionality, we had flung ourselves into the war with all our economic, moral, and military strength, and that exceeded every expectation. Like Milton’s strong man wakened out of sleep, Uncle Sam had risen in his might and shaken his invincible locks. But for fighting we had no stomach after war was done. We wanted to be led into the paths of peace.

THE PROBLEMS WHICH PEACE BROUGHT

The problems of demobilization—grave, massive, imponderable—began at once to challenge our attention. We had drifted into war; we had no wish to drift back into peace. Every nation in Europe, even under the utmost

strain of war, had been getting ready for its reconstruction. Great Britain had as many as thirty-seven organizations in active operation the month peace came, to deal with the problems following the war. Before November ended, our own problems grew immense and complicated. Soldiers mustered out were turning up "dead broke" in many of our cities because they had not had advance of pay. Organized labor warned us that wages must, and would, not fall, though the cost of living still kept up, to the anxiety of the plain people,

The parson and the parson's wife
And mostly married people,

who had no union to speak for them.

The cry for labor spent itself as men and women engaged in public service quickly made connection with private business. Farm workers were not wanted until the spring. Money was high. Credit was shy. Manufacturers ceased to turn out munitions, and many factories stood idle. The grafter had been with us long; now we had to reckon with the profiteer as well. The loafer, like the poor, is with us always; now the slacker had come on to share his place and add to our distress. We hoped we would be better as a people; all through those November days we feared we might be worse. Jostled, disturbed, and bruised by war, more than a hundred million people wanted when the Armistice was signed a little time to find out whether the blood oozing from their skin was healthy or unwholesome.

In the exigencies of war, the government had taken over, without serious protest from the people, railroads, telephones, telegraphs, and shipping. The output of our mines and factories was under governmental oversight, and we were told what we should eat and how much coal we might expect to burn. Russia had been overcome by Bolshevism.

The tide was reaching out through Germany, Austria, Italy, and Sweden toward France and England, and we were wondering whether it would lap our shores. Reactionaries as usual were hiding their heads in the sand, or crying, "Lo, here" and "Lo, there." We had been tried as by fire, and we were confident that we could meet any problem which might come. It was a socialist who wrote the other day: "No wrong exists in America that cannot be righted without the shedding of a drop of blood; but no wrong was ever righted by doing nothing." We wanted something done without delay in the same great spirit that took us into war to win, regardless of all party lines.

DISTURBING THE SEX BALANCE

The visitor to Europe has been shocked by the destruction of the sex balance. Many a year will pass away before that sin for which Germany is responsible by the planning and precipitation of the war will be forgiven. Millions of the world's marriageable men are dead. More millions, crippled, maimed, shell-shocked, are unfit for the responsibilities which marriage brings. The world can get on without things. It must have people. For thousands of years the best minds and best souls have been thinking up the best methods for insuring the development of the human race in right conditions for populating the world with men and women worthy to receive the torch flung to them by those who send back word from nameless graves:

To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high!
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

The Armistice brought us face to face with the necessity of finding some plan by which young men and women may

marry earlier, and a proper premium be placed on the bearing of children so that the piteous and unutterable loss may be as soon as possible replaced.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE OLD

In brief, November 11 marked for the whole world the parting of the ways. A civilization to which we were all used had gone. Into a new civilization we had been rudely flung. Leadership was needed. With eager longing and unquestioning confidence, we looked to our Executive to furnish it. No man in history had had perhaps such training for the part. Our confidence was the greater because the whole world recognized in him its moral leader, and such words as he has lately spoken seemed to all right-minded everywhere veraciously accurate: "There is a great wave of moral force moving through the world, and every man who opposes himself to that wave will go down in disgrace."

THE PRESIDENT DECIDES TO GO ABROAD

Yet with this supreme and importunate call for leadership ringing in his ears, our President announced November 18 his purpose to sail December 3 for Europe. Never has any word from the White House so astonished the American millions. We were reduced to silence. We thought naturally he had good reason for his course. We were willing to await the explanation from him. Few of us embarrassed him by published criticism. We were not shunted from our duty to his sacred office even by the words of a great constitutional lawyer, long-time United States senator, that the absence of the President at such a crisis was in violation both of precedent and of the Constitution, and that if he did leave the country for some weeks, his office was thereby evacuated. Some who thought he had the right did not

approve the wisdom of the step, and were not altogether reassured when on December 2 he casually acquainted Congress with his purpose to go overseas at the desire of the Allies to explain to them the peace terms he outlined to Congress as long ago as January 8, 1918, and which were accepted in general both by the Allies and by the Central Powers when the Armistice was signed. "I owe it to them," he said, "to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no fault of mistaken interpretation is put upon them, and no possible effort omitted to realize them."

THE HIGHER PURPOSE

Why was this most significant pilgrimage on record undertaken? Why was precedent broken without adequate explanation? Perhaps our President furnished the clue to general understanding when he said in Paris that he had all his life done the most perfectly natural thing. With high-minded audacity he was heeding without hesitation the command issued to all public servants earlier by another President, who once said:

The leader for the time being, whoever he may be, is but an instrument, to be used until broken and then to be cast aside; and if he is worth his salt he will care no more when he is broken than a soldier cares when he is sent where his life is forfeit in order that the victory may be won. In the long fight for righteousness the watchword for all of us is, spend and be spent. It is a little matter whether any one man fails or succeeds; but the cause shall not fail, for it is the cause of mankind. We, here in America, hold in our hands the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years; and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed, if we trail in the dust the golden hopes of men. If on this new continent we merely build another country of great but unjustly divided material prosperity, we shall have done nothing; and we shall do as little if we merely set the greed of envy against the greed of arrogance, and thereby destroy the material well-being of all of us.

From Vienna to Berlin other conferences had fallen into evil hands. There was no one to speak the supreme word with which George Washington and Lincoln long ago made us familiar on this side of the Atlantic. Conscious of his strength, unconcerned about his future, Woodrow Wilson fared forth to match strength with his cosmic peers so that through all the years to come Paris, 1919, might tower above all historic conferences in ideals realized and difficulties in the main dissolved. The world was worn out with the strife of tongues and clang of battle. But never could the world be made safe for Democracy until every autocratic root was plucked up from the soil of Europe.

Our President had hitched his wagon to a star, and only true star gazers—always few—could take him, at first, at his own valuation. Plain people whom Woodrow Wilson has often said he trusts were doing their own thinking, and a truckman put the case with more ruggedness than our literati usually employ: “Maybe the President made a mistake or two in the way he went to Europe! But, gee! even a President may make a break sometimes. If he did not, he would never get my vote. No man who always hits it off just right is the right sort. Folks want a President who isn’t afraid to make a blunder now and then while he is trying to do something big. I guess the President knows what he is doing over there, and I think the people will stand by him when they learn the truth in full.”

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The presidential trip was predetermined when the League to Enforce Peace was organized in 1915 in Philadelphia with Mr. Taft as president. It was then highly resolved by a large number of America’s most distinguished publicists that public opinion should be created to make the Great

War the last war, to create any machinery necessary in achieving this purpose, and if need be to enforce peace by a league of trustworthy nations. Much discussion has since followed. The league idea has captured the imagination of America. Organizations have been effected everywhere. Campaigns have been conducted for four years, culminating in a series of conventions held in February in nine of the greatest cities to crystallize public opinion now practically unanimous for such a peace as no Kaiser and no Bolsheviks can by power or craft ever again break.

Many believe that Woodrow Wilson neither seeks advice nor invites criticism. On the contrary, as long ago as 1893 he made appeal for public confidence in his honesty of purpose and declared that he knew with what spirit he was wont to write. More recently he has indicated that it hurts to be misjudged. Everybody does know more than anybody, and Woodrow Wilson has in all his public life listened for the judgment of the masses. Again and again he has made appeal to the people, and if any doubt his honesty of purpose in becoming the peace pilot of the world, they are not likely to be found among those plain people whom Lincoln said the Lord must love or He would not have made so many of them.

As early as May 27, 1916, Woodrow Wilson expressed approval of the purpose of the League to Enforce Peace, without accepting any special scheme proposed. That was in fact the day he declared his belief that the peoples of the world were in accord, "that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that the right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at

the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind. The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other, it is imperative that they should agree to coöperate in a common cause, and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause should be even handed and impartial justice."

Had one of Mr. H. G. Wells's creatures from another planet had access to the inmost thoughts of Mr. Wilson when word came on November 11 that the Armistice was signed, he could probably have reported to us that the President of the United States was not unmindful of the reconstruction problems, acute, immediate, perilous, complicated, and nation-wide, but that he also realized that no permanent solution could be found for them unless the world peace was first established on sure and lasting foundations.

Woodrow Wilson's terms of peace had been accepted both by friends and by enemies without explanation, and he acclaimed the leader to secure peace for the world. His first duty, though as he said to Congress on December 2 he realized the inconveniences attending his absence from the country at this time, was to do his part at close range "in making good" what millions had given their life blood to prove good.

SOUNDING OUT THE WORLD

He sailed for Europe on December 3 to focalize there as here public opinion—so far as in him lay—for a world peace. With grim resolution, he seemed determined—it was commonly reported—to get behind the rulers if need

be to the people whom they represented. He was not unmindful that nations closer to the seat of war had need to maintain at least the balance of power. It was the only agency that England, for instance, could at times devise to save her soul alive. France, taught by Edward VII to trust her ancient foe, had come to believe that the balance of power upheld by nations like Great Britain, France, and the United States would furnish a sufficient safeguard for the future. It was with this in mind that Clemenceau, even after Wilson landed on European soil, openly announced his confidence in the balance of power, and was sustained by practically all of his constituents.

Stephen Lauzanne, in *Le Matin*, cleared away all possible misapprehension by proclaiming France's sympathy with the league idea, while indicating that many Frenchmen were still skeptical as to its practicability. What difference of opinion there was in no way touched the value of the idea, but merely the possibility of adapting it to workaday conditions. The whole loaf tasted good in prospect; it might be necessary to accept the half-loaf only rather than go hungry altogether.

The conversion of England has been steadily proceeding. Both the Prime Minister and the leaders of the opposition weeks ago declared for a league. Lord Robert Cecil and Sir Edward Grey had been among its most convincing exponents. The only opposition worth considering in England has come from a small group who are sure, with Hotspur, that they could call spirits from the vasty deep, but wondered if they would come. Lord Charnwood sees straight and makes the obvious suggestion that the present combination continue to work together and "cultivate assiduously that understanding between their peoples by which their efforts thus far have been sustained."

Already Great Britain understands that, so far as the United States is concerned, she may keep as large a fleet as she deems necessary. Our President has both visited the devastated region and twice spoken in vehement indignation at the conduct of the enemy at Rheims and other places. France is in no doubt that America has been committed by our President to the complete compensation—so far as that is possible—for the damage done to France by the now humiliated foeman. All agree that Belgium shall rise out of her wreckage a free and unconditioned sovereign nation, and that all the little nations which in this war have proved their moral and political equilibrium shall hereafter live under their own vine and figtree with none to molest or make them afraid.

Details enough remain to keep the Conference busy many a day. The remaking of the world's geography does not grow easier because there is agreement as to general principles. Mathematics and psychology, history and economics, are now put to a test never felt before in the rebuilding of the world. But times have changed since Bismarck crowned the Emperor of Germany at Versailles. The old order has given way to new. The people have come into their own. As the President said on January 25, "the select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the world," and the League of Nations is "the keynote of the whole."

THE WINNING OF THE WORLD

Woodrow Wilson opened a new chapter in the history of man in his address on January 25 to the Peace Conference. The unqualified and immediate approval with which his words were met indicated beyond peradventure that

the case for the League of Nations has been won, and problems like the freedom of the seas, the creation of administrative machinery adequate to the new needs, the settlement of the difficulties between Italy and the Jugo-Slavs, between China and Japan, and the adjudication of the case of Germany will be determined without malice but with ruthless regard for the damage Germany has done to Europe.

HOW IT WAS DONE

How has Woodrow Wilson, sometime college professor and college president, achieved the most colossal task that ever fell to man? Plain speech is now in order. What if Europe did feel a kind of joyous agony at the prospect of the coming of the peace pilot? The circumstances in which he went were not altogether joyous to him, even in such comfortable quarters as the "George Washington" afforded. What if at home and abroad the fourteen points seemed for a time like mediaeval angels struggling for a footing on the point of a frail needle? What if French wit, unmatched elsewhere, wondered why Woodrow Wilson needed to promulgate fourteen commandments, while God Almighty had been content with ten?

How simple it all is. The war was at an end. Men everywhere realized how nerve-worn the world was. Reaction was inevitable. No one knew this better than the President. He saw his duty, novel as it was. He had no thought that all would see it as he saw it. He could not be himself and everybody else at the same time. He set his jaw to do his task. But he wreathed his face in smiles, and so behaved that Paris spoke out of a full heart of his "exquisite tact." He made many speeches, but he never spoke a tactless word or did a graceless deed. As he went visiting among the allied peoples, the Wilson smile brushed

far away distrust, any disposition which there may have been to secret diplomacy and racial underhandedness disappeared, and even from wrongs as old as Europe and from sufferings as poignant as the Crucifixion the fountains of new life sprang up and "the very pulse of the world" began to beat anew to the bigness and the sanctity of the whole enterprise. Metternich and Bismarck had at last given way in the calendar of politics to Woodrow Wilson.

On such a heaven-kissing hill Woodrow Wilson maintained his balance, and when he comes home to stay the problems so perplexing here will be the easier to solve because he will have given them a world background of peace seen through the vista of the League of Nations constituted to do right though the heavens fall and ever mindful of the message of the One who said He came "not to be ministered unto, but to minister."

A UNIVERSAL SENTIMENT

A universal sentiment no one can deny who reads widely has been expressed by the golden pen of Henri Lavedan, writing for the Paris *Illustration*:

With what will, with what sureness of manœuvre, of thought, of means, of pen, and of word, what dignity, what purity of conscience, what largeness and what vigilance of mind, what charity of heart, what generosity of soul, he has fulfilled the mission of which he felt no fear, in the face of all the most closely linked problems of the past and the present, of assuming the responsibility!

We have seen him!

We have admired him!

Our descendants will be dazzled in their turn, and that will remain one of the magnificences of history.

President Wilson will appear later in the poetry of future ages like a Dante, of whom he has the legendary profile, guiding with

precaution, in the infernal circles, the length of the abyss in which she risked descending, that Beatrice in a white robe that is called Peace.

He wanted Peace.

To seek her, to attract her, to draw near to her, to prepare her, facilitate her, and make her conformable to all the exigencies of honor and of security that were demanded of her, he had the tranquil fanaticism of the Good.

And if he has succeeded in this task that seemed insurmountable, it is because he has not wanted Peace except through Justice and for Justice.

It is for Peace and for Justice that he made war.

Ever this man of the Law, this jurist of Sinai, this Solomon of the Right and of Duty, subordinated everything, his own conduct and that of the States of which he was the absolute representative, the direction of policy and of the war, and all the embarrassments and all the questions of every kind, to this exclusive and dominating sentiment of Justice.

He was possessed as if by a beneficent demon.

To wish and to do in all things nothing but Justice!

To want Justice and to do Justice entirely, or at least as completely as possible, humanly speaking.

Such a disposition, intellectual and psychic, supported by convictions and beliefs on high, inaccessible, could alone communicate to his decisions the serene force and authority that imposed them.

A thing astonishing and significant—he was so devoted to this fundamental task and he worked at it with such perfect scruple of conscience, such a fine use of reason, such a calm and incessant recourse to wisdom, such a moderation in ideas and terms, with so much method, prudence, order, and amplitude, that he seemed sometimes detached from it.

He had no need of passion, of anger, or of fracas to make heard the thunder, even and warning, of his thought.

No apparel of the theater, no ostentation, but a biblical manner!

ANNOUNCEMENTS, ADDRESSES,
AND RESPONSES



OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S INTENTION TO VISIT EUROPE

On November 18, 1918, the following statement was issued from the White House:

The President expects to sail for France immediately after the opening of the regular session of Congress, for the purpose of taking part in the discussion and settlement of the main features of the treaty of peace.

It is not likely that it will be possible for him to remain throughout the sessions of the formal Peace Conference, but his presence at the outset is necessary in order to obviate the manifest disadvantages of discussion by cable in determining the greater outlines of the final treaty, about which he must necessarily be consulted.

He will, of course, be accompanied by delegates who will sit as the representatives of the United States throughout the Conference. The names of the delegates will be presently announced.

This was supplemented on November 29 by the following announcement regarding the membership of the United States delegation to the Peace Conference:

It was announced at the Executive offices tonight that the representatives of the United States at the Peace Conference would be: the President himself, the Secretary of State, the Hon. Henry White, recently ambassador to France, Mr. Edward M. House, and General Tasker H. Bliss.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

On December 3, 1918, President Wilson read his annual message to Congress, in which he paid eloquent tribute to the bravery of American soldiers and sailors and to the fine temper of the American people and dealt with reconstruction problems, taxation, and the railroad situation.

The special paragraphs dealing with his proposed trip follow:

I welcome this occasion to announce to the Congress my purpose to join in Paris the representatives of the Governments with which we have been associated in the war against the Central Empires for the purpose of discussing with them the main features of the treaty of peace. I realize the great inconveniences that will attend my leaving the country, particularly at this time, but the conclusion that it was my paramount duty to go has been forced upon me by considerations which I hope will seem as conclusive to you as they have seemed to me.

The allied Governments have accepted the bases of peace which I outlined to the Congress on the eighth of January last, as the Central Empires also have, and very reasonably desire my personal counsel in their interpretation and application, and it is highly desirable that I should give it in order that the sincere desire of our Government to contribute without selfish purposes of any kind to settlements that will be of common benefit to all the nations concerned may be made fully manifest. The peace settlements which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendent importance both to us and to the rest of the world, and I know of no business or interest which should take precedence of them. The gallant men of our armed forces on land and sea have consciously fought for the ideals which they knew to be the ideals of their country; I have sought to express those ideals; they have accepted my statements

of them as the substance of their own thought and purpose, as the associated Governments have accepted them; I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them, and no possible effort omitted to realize them. It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered their life's blood to obtain. I can think of no call to service which could transcend this.

I shall be in close touch with you and with affairs on this side the water, and you will know all that I do. At my request the French and English Governments have absolutely removed the censorship of cable news which until within a fortnight they had maintained, and there is now no censorship whatever exercised at this end except upon attempted trade communications with enemy countries. It has been necessary to keep an open wire constantly available between Paris and the Department of State and another between France and the Department of War. In order that this might be done with the least possible interference with the other uses of the cables, I have temporarily taken over the control of both cables in order that they may be used as a single system. I did so at the advice of the most experienced cable officials, and I hope that the results will justify my hope that the news of the next few months may pass with the utmost freedom and with the least possible delay from each side of the sea to the other.

May I not hope, gentlemen of the Congress, that in the delicate tasks I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea, in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love, I may have the encouragement and the added strength of your united support? I realize the magnitude and difficulty of the duty I am undertaking; I am poignantly aware of its grave

responsibilities. I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the best that is in me to the common settlements which I must now assist in arriving at in conference with the other working heads of the associated Governments. I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement. I shall not be inaccessible. The cables and the wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and I shall be happy in the thought that I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal. I shall make my absence as brief as possible and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven.

THE VOYAGE BEGINS

President Wilson, Mrs. Wilson, and the rest of the presidential party left Washington at midnight on the evening of December 3, 1918, and embarked on the steamship "George Washington" at Hoboken, sailing from there at 10:15 A.M. on December 4.

The President's steamship was accompanied by a naval convoy, consisting of the super-dreadnaught "Pennsylvania," flagship of Admiral Henry T. Mayo, commander-in-chief of the battle fleet, and a flotilla of destroyers.

New York gave the party a noisy but most enthusiastic send-off. Opposite the Statue of Liberty the transport "Minnehaha," bringing back many American troops from Europe, saluted the Commander-in-Chief, who waved his greetings repeatedly. Airplanes circled over the ship until it passed out to sea.

ON THE HIGH SEAS

Among those accompanying the President and Mrs. Wilson were: Robert Lansing, secretary of state; Mrs. Lansing; J. J. Jusserand, the French ambassador; Count V. Macchi di Cellere, the Italian ambassador; M. Cartier de Marchienne, the Belgian minister, and members of their families accompanying them; Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, the private physician of the President, and Henry White, a member of the American Peace Mission; and a number of historical, geographical, and other experts. Colonel House and General Bliss, the other members of the Peace Delegation, were already in Paris.

The voyage was pleasant but uneventful. The President worked at his speeches and was in frequent conference with the members of his official party.

During the voyage President and Mrs. Wilson sent an autographed letter, by carrier pigeon, to Rear Admiral Gleaves, thanking him for the admirable arrangements he had made for the trip.

ARRIVAL AT BREST

Brest is a fortified seaport on the most westerly coast of France, with a population of over seventy-five thousand. It is a naval station of the first class, containing a roadstead 14 miles long by 4 miles wide. It is directly connected by cable with the United States and with French West Africa. Brest once belonged to England, but when Francis I married Claude, daughter of Anne of Brittany, it passed to the French crown. Richelieu built its first fortifications in 1631. Two famous naval engagements occurred off Brest, one in 1694, when the English, under Lord Berkeley, beat the French, and the other exactly one hundred years later, when the French turned the tables and defeated Lord Howe, during the American Revolutionary War.

Large additional docks and miles of trackage, with modern American equipment, were constructed at Brest in the face of innumerable difficulties, but in record time, by United States army engineers.

The President landed at Brest at 3:24 P.M., on December 13, and at 4:00 P.M. left for Paris.

The mayor of Brest, M. Goude, read the following address to the President:

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Mr. President: I feel the deepest emotion in presenting to you the welcome of the Breton population. The ship bringing you to this port is the symbol under the auspices of which the legions of your pacific citizens sprang to arms in the grand cause of independence. Under the same auspices to-day you bring to the tormented soil of Europe the comfort of your authorized voice in the debates which will calm our quarrels.

Mr. President, upon this Breton soil our hearts are unanimous in saluting you as the messenger of justice and peace. To-morrow it will be our entire nation which will acclaim you, and our whole people will thrill with enthusiasm over the eminent statesman who is the champion of their aspirations toward justice and liberty.

This old Breton city has the honor of first saluting you. In order to perpetuate this honor to our descendants, the Municipal Council has asked me to present you with an address expressing their joy at being privileged to incline themselves before the illustrious democrat who presides over the destinies of the great Republic of the United States.

The Mayor then presented the engrossed address of the Council, which said in part:

Being the first to welcome the President of the United States to France, we respectfully salute the eminent statesman who so nobly personifies the ideals of liberty and the rights of man. In order to perpetuate this event through the ages we direct that these proceedings be deposited in the city archives. Long live President Wilson! Long live the champion and apostle of international justice!

Speaking in a clear voice, the President acknowledged the greeting and read a brief address in response.

The French government was represented at Brest by M. Stephen Pichon, foreign minister, and M. Georges Leygues, minister of marine. Miss Margaret Wilson, the President's daughter, was among the first to greet her father on French soil. About fifty American and French warships roared a greeting to the "George Washington."

PARIS: LUNCHEON AT THE ELYSÉE PALACE

The Elysée Palace, the official residence of the President of the French Republic, is a modern structure, built in 1718 for Louis d'Auvergne, Count d'Erveux, and was for a while the residence of Madame de Pompadour. Napoleon I and Louis Napoleon III also lived there.

On December 14, 1918, President Raymond Poincaré entertained President Wilson at luncheon at the Elysée. In welcoming his guest, President Poincaré said:

Mr. President: Paris and France awaited you with impatience. They were eager to acclaim in you the illustrious democrat whose words and deeds were inspired by exalted thought, the philosopher delighting in the solution of universal laws from particular events, the eminent statesman who had found a way to express the highest political and moral truths in formulas which bear the stamp of immortality.

They had also a passionate desire to offer thanks in your person for the invaluable assistance which had been given spontaneously during this war to the defenders of right and liberty.

Even before America had resolved to intervene in the struggle, she had shown to the wounded and to the orphans of France a solicitude and a generosity the memory of which will always be enshrined in our hearts. The liberality of your Red Cross, the countless gifts of your fellow citizens,

the inspiring initiative of American women, anticipated your military and naval action and showed the world to which side your sympathies inclined. And on the day when you flung yourselves into the battle, with what determination your great people and yourself prepared for united success!

Some months ago you cabled to me that the United States would send ever-increasing forces until the day should be reached on which the allied armies were able to submerge the enemy under an overwhelming flow of new divisions; and, in effect, for more than a year a steady stream of youth and energy has been poured upon the shores of France.

No sooner had they landed than your gallant battalions, fired by their chief, General Pershing, flung themselves into the combat with such a manly contempt of danger, such a smiling disregard of death, that our longer experience of this terrible war often moved us to counsel prudence. They brought with them, in arriving here, the enthusiasm of the Crusaders leaving for the Holy Land. It is their right to-day to look with pride upon the work accomplished and to rest assured that they have powerfully aided by their courage and their faith.

Eager as they were to meet the enemy, they did not know when they arrived the enormity of his crimes. That they might know how the German armies make war it has been necessary that they see towns systematically burned down, mines flooded, factories reduced to ashes, orchards devastated, cathedrals shelled and fired—all that deliberate savagery, aimed to destroy national wealth, nature, and beauty, which the imagination could not conceive at a distance from the men and things that have endured it and to-day bear witness.

In your turn, Mr. President, you will be able to measure with your own eyes the extent of these disasters, and the French government will make known to you the authentic documents in which the German General Staff developed with astounding cynicism its program of pillage and industrial annihilation. Your noble conscience will pronounce a verdict on these facts. Should this guilt remain unpunished, could it be renewed, the most splendid victories would be in vain.

Mr. President, France has struggled, has endured, and has suffered during four long years; she has bled at every vein; she has lost the best of her children; she mourns for her youths. She yearns now, even as you do, for a peace of justice and security.

It was not that she might be exposed once again to aggression that she submitted to such sacrifices. Nor was it in order that criminals should go unpunished, that they might lift their heads again to make ready for new crimes, that, under your strong leadership, America armed herself and crossed the ocean.

Faithful to the memory of Lafayette and Rochambeau, she came to the aid of France because France herself was faithful to her traditions. Our common ideal has triumphed. Together we have defended the vital principles of free nations. Now we must build together such a peace as will forbid the deliberate and hypocritical renewing of an organism aiming at conquest and oppression.

Peace must make amends for the misery and sadness of yesterday, and it must be a guaranty against the dangers of to-morrow. The association which has been formed for the purpose of war, between the United States and the Allies, and which contains the seed of the permanent institutions of which you have spoken so eloquently, will find

from this day forward a clear and profitable employment in the concerted search for equitable decisions and in the mutual support which we need if we are to make our rights prevail.

Whatever safeguards we may erect for the future, no one, alas, can assert that we shall forever spare to mankind the horrors of new wars. Five years ago the progress of science and the state of civilization might have permitted the hope that no government, however autocratic, would have succeeded in hurling armed armies upon Belgium and Serbia.

Without lending ourselves to the illusion that posterity will be forevermore safe from these collective follies, we must introduce into the peace we are going to build all the conditions of justice and all the safeguards of civilization that we can embody in it. To such a vast and magnificent task, Mr. President, you have chosen to come and apply yourself in concert with France. France offers you her thanks. She knows the friendship of America. She knows your rectitude and elevation of spirit. It is in the fullest confidence that she is ready to work with you.

REPLY BY PRESIDENT WILSON

Mr. President: I am deeply indebted to you for your gracious greeting. It is very delightful to find myself in France and to feel the quick contact of sympathy and unaffected friendship between the representatives of the United States and the representatives of France.

You have been very generous in what you were pleased to say about myself, but I feel that what I have said and what I have tried to do has been said and done only in an attempt to speak the thought of the people of the United States truly, and to carry that thought out in action.

From the first, the thought of the people of the United States turned toward something more than the mere winning of this war. It turned to the establishment of eternal principles of right and justice. It realized that merely to win the war was not enough; that it must be won in such a way and the questions raised by it settled in such a way as to insure the future peace of the world and lay the foundations for the freedom and happiness of its many peoples and nations.

Never before has war worn so terrible a visage or exhibited more grossly the debasing influence of illicit ambitions. I am sure that I shall look upon the ruin wrought by the armies of the Central Empires with the same repulsion and deep indignation that they stir in the hearts of men of France and Belgium, and I appreciate, as you do, sir, the necessity of such action in the final settlement of the issues of the war as will not only rebuke such acts of terror and spoliation, but make men everywhere aware that they cannot be ventured upon without the certainty of just punishment.

I know with what ardor and enthusiasm the soldiers and sailors of the United States have given the best that was in them to this war of redemption. They have expressed the true spirit of America. They believe their ideals to be acceptable to free peoples everywhere, and are rejoiced to have played the part they have played in giving reality to those ideals in coöperation with the armies of the Allies. We are proud of the part they have played, and we are happy that they should have been associated with such comrades in common cause.

It is with peculiar feeling, Mr. President, that I find myself in France joining with you in rejoicing over the victory that has been won. The ties that bind France

and the United States are peculiarly close. I do not know in what other comradeship we could have fought with more zest or enthusiasm. It will daily be a matter of pleasure with me to be brought into consultation with the statesmen of France and her allies in concerting the measures by which we may secure permanence for these happy relations of friendship and coöperation, and secure for the world at large such safety and freedom in its life as can be secured only by the constant association and coöperation of friends.

I greet you not only with deep personal respect, but as the representative of the great people of France, and beg to bring to you the greetings of another great people to whom the fortunes of France are of profound and lasting interest.

REPLY TO SOCIALIST DELEGATION Paris, December 14, 1918

Gentlemen: I received with great interest the address which you have just read to me. The war through which we have just passed has illustrated in a way which never can be forgotten the extraordinary wrongs which can be perpetrated by arbitrary and irresponsible power.

It is not possible to secure the happiness and prosperity of the world, to establish an enduring peace, unless the repetition of such wrongs is rendered impossible. This has indeed been a peoples' war. It has been waged against absolutism and militarism, and these enemies of liberty must from this time forth be shut out from the possibility of working their cruel will upon mankind.

In my judgment, it is not sufficient to establish this principle. It is necessary that it should be supported by a coöperation of the nations which shall be based upon

fixed and definite covenants, and which shall be made certain of effective action through the instrumentality of a League of Nations. I believe this to be the conviction of all thoughtful and liberal men.

I am confident that this is the thought of those who lead your own great nation, and I am looking forward with peculiar pleasure to coöperating with them in securing guaranties of a lasting peace of justice and right dealing which shall justify the sacrifices of this war and cause men to look back upon those sacrifices as the dramatic and final processes of their emancipation.

A CITIZEN OF PARIS

On December 16 the President was given the freedom of the city of Paris at a ceremony which took place in the Hôtel de Ville.

The present Hôtel de Ville was built in 1873-1882 on the site of a town hall built from 1535 to 1628, on the right bank of the Seine opposite the Ile-de-la-Cité. Its predecessor was destroyed by the Communists in 1870. It is in the typically modern French Renaissance style, with highly decorated pilasters, high-pitched roofs, and dormer windows.

M. Adrien Mithouard, president of the Municipal Council, conferred the freedom of the city upon Mr. Wilson.

In the course of the ceremonies he presented to him the great gold medal of the city of Paris, and to Mrs. Wilson a diamond brooch.

The President replied as follows to the address of M. Mithouard:

Your greeting has raised many emotions within me. It is with no ordinary sympathy that the people of the United States, for whom I have the privilege of speaking, have viewed the sufferings of the people of France. Many of our own people have been themselves witnesses of those sufferings.

We were the more deeply moved by the wrongs of the war because we knew the manner in which they were perpetrated. I beg that you will not suppose that, because

a wide ocean separated us in space, we were not in effect eyewitnesses of the shameful ruin that was wrought and the cruel and unnecessary sufferings that were brought upon you. These sufferings have filled our hearts with indignation. We know what they were, not only, but we know what they signified, and our hearts were touched to the quick by them, our imaginations filled with the whole picture of what France and Belgium in particular had experienced.

When the United States entered the war, therefore, they entered it not only because they were moved by a conviction that the purposes of the Central Empires were wrong and must be resisted by men everywhere who loved liberty and the right, but also because the illicit ambitions which they were entertaining and attempting to realize had led to the practices which shocked our hearts as much as they offended our principles. Our resolution was formed because we knew how profoundly great principles of right were affected, but our hearts moved also with our resolution.

You have been exceedingly generous in what you have been gracious enough to say about me—generous far beyond my personal deserts; but you have interpreted, with real insight, the motives and resolution of the people of the United States. Whatever influence I exercise, whatever authority I speak with, I derive from them. I know what they have thought, I know what they have desired, and when I have spoken what I knew was in their minds it has been delightful to see how the consciences and purposes of freemen everywhere responded. We have merely established our right to the full fellowship of those peoples here and throughout the world who reverence the right of genuine liberty and justice.

You have made me feel very much at home here, not merely by the delightful warmth of your welcome, but also by the manner in which you have made me realize to the utmost the intimate community of thought and ideal which characterize your people and the great nation which I have the honor for the time to represent.

Your welcome to Paris I shall always remember as one of the unique and inspiring experiences of my life, and, while I feel that you are honoring the people of the United States in my person, I shall nevertheless carry away with me a very keen personal gratification in looking back upon these memorable days.

Permit me to thank you from a full heart.

AT THE SORBONNE

President Wilson was made a Doctor of Laws by the University of Paris on December 21, 1918. The ceremony took place at the Sorbonne, which houses the Faculties of Science and Literature.

The President spoke as follows in acknowledging the honor which had been bestowed upon him:

I feel very keenly the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me by the great University of Paris, and it is very delightful to me also to have the honor of being inducted into the great company of scholars whose life and fame have made the history of the University of Paris a thing admirable among men of cultivation in all parts of the world.

By what you have said, sir, of the theory of education which has been followed in France and which I have tried to promote in the United States, I am tempted to venture upon a favorite theme.

I have always thought that the chief object of education was to awaken the spirit, and that, inasmuch as a literature

whenever it has touched its great and higher notes was an expression of the spirit of mankind, the best induction into education was to feel the pulses of humanity which had beaten from age to age through the universities of men who had penetrated to the secrets of the human spirit.

And I agree with the intimation which has been conveyed to-day that the terrible war through which we have just passed has not been only a war between nations, but that it has been also a war between systems of culture, the one system, the aggressive system, using science without conscience, stripping learning of its moral restraints and using every faculty of the human mind to do wrong to the whole race; the other system, reminiscent of the high traditions of men, reminiscent of all these struggles, some of them obscure, but others closely revealed to history, of men of indomitable spirit everywhere struggling toward the right and seeking above all things else to be free.

The triumph of freedom in this war means that that spirit shall now dominate the world. There is a great wave of moral force moving through the world, and every man who opposes himself to that wave will go down in disgrace.

The task of those who are gathered here, or will presently be gathered here, to make the settlements of this peace is greatly simplified by the fact that they are the masters of no one; they are the servants of mankind.

And if we do not heed the mandates of mankind, we shall make ourselves the most conspicuous and deserved failures in the history of the world.

My conception of the League of Nations is just this: That it shall operate as the organized moral force of men throughout the world, and that whenever or wherever

wrong and aggression are planned or contemplated, this searching light of conscience will be turned upon them, and men everywhere will ask, "What are the purposes that you hold in your heart against the fortunes of the world?"

Just a little exposure will settle most questions. If the Central Powers had dared to discuss the purposes of this war for a single fortnight, it never would have happened. And if, as should be, they were forced to discuss it for a year, the war would have been inconceivable.

So I feel that this war is, as has been said more than once to-day, intimately related with the university spirit. The university spirit is intolerant of all the things that put the human mind under restraint. It is intolerant of everything that seeks to retard the advancement of ideals, the acceptance of the truth, the purification of life.

And every university man can ally himself with the forces of the present time with the feeling that now at last the spirit of truth, the spirit to which universities have devoted themselves, has prevailed and is triumphant.

If there is one point of pride that I venture to entertain, it is that it has been my private privilege in some measure to interpret the university spirit in the public life of a great nation, and I feel that in honoring me to-day in this unusual and conspicuous manner you have first of all honored the people whom I represent.

The spirit that I try to express I know to be their spirit, and in proportion as I serve them I believe that I advance the cause of freedom.

I, as before, wish to thank you, sir, from the bottom of my heart for a distinction which has in a singular way crowned my academic career.

CHRISTMAS AT CHAUMONT

Chaumont, General Pershing's headquarters, where President Wilson spent Christmas Day and reviewed and addressed the American troops, is a town of over twelve thousand people in Eastern France, the chief city in La Haute-Marne, 163 miles east-southeast from Paris.

This little town was famous in history before American troops made it their headquarters in 1918. In 1814 Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia signed a treaty there (dated March 1, signed March 9) agreeing to conclude a separate peace with Napoleon I, but to continue the war until France was reduced to the boundaries of 1792.

President Wilson was greatly interested in his visit to Chaumont. He visited the men in their quarters and spoke informally to many of them, bringing a word of cheer from home.

WELCOME BY GENERAL PERSHING

Mr. President and Fellow Soldiers: We are gathered here to-day to do honor to the commander of our armies and navies. For the first time an American president will review an American army on foreign soil—the soil of a sister republic—beside whose gallant troops we have fought to restore peace to the world.

Speaking for you and your comrades, I am proud to declare to the President that no army has ever more loyally or more effectively served its country and none has ever fought in a nobler cause.

You, Mr. President, by your confidence and by your support, have made the success of our army, and to you as our commander-in-chief may I now present the nation's victorious army.

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN TROOPS

General Pershing and Fellow Comrades: I wish that I could give to each one of you the message that I know you are longing to receive from those at home who love you. I cannot do that, but I can tell you how everyone has put his heart into it. So you have done your duty, and something more. You have done your duty, and you have done it with a spirit which gave it distinction and glory.

And now we are to hail the fruits of everything. You conquered, when you came over, what you came over for, and you have done what it was appointed for you to do. I know what you expected of me. Some time ago a gentleman from one of the countries with which we are associated was discussing with me the moral aspects of this war, and I said that if we did not insist upon the high purpose of what we now have accomplished the end would not be justified.

Everybody at home is proud of you and has followed every movement of this great army with confidence and affection.

The whole people of the United States are now waiting to welcome you home with an acclaim which probably has never greeted any other army, because our country is like this country, we have been so proud of the stand taken, of the purpose for which this war was entered by the United States.

You knew what we expected of you, and you did it. I know what you and the people at home expected of me, and I am happy to say, my fellow countrymen, that I do not find in the hearts of the great leaders with whom it is my privilege now to coöperate any difference of principle or of fundamental purpose.

It happened that it was the privilege of America to present the chart for peace, and now the process of settlement has been rendered comparatively simple by the fact that all the nations concerned have accepted that chart, and the application of these principles laid down there will be their application. The world will now know that the nations that fought this war, as well as the soldiers who represented them, are ready to make good; make good not only in the assertion of their own interests, but make good in the

establishment of peace upon the permanent foundation of right and of justice.

Because this is not a war in which the soldiers of the free nations have obeyed masters. You have commanders, but you have no masters. Your very commanders represent you in representing the nation of which you constitute so distinguished a part.

And everybody concerned in the settlement knows that it must be a people's peace and that nothing must be done in the settlement of the issues of the war which is not as handsome as the great achievements of the armies of the United States and the Allies.

It is difficult, very difficult, men, in any normal speech like this to show you my real heart. You men probably do not realize with what anxious attention and care we have followed every step you have advanced and how proud we are that every step was in advance, and not in retreat; that every time you set your face in any direction you kept your face in that direction.

A thrill has gone through my heart as it has gone through the heart of every American with almost every gun that was fired and every stroke that was struck in the gallant fighting that you have done, and there has been only one regret in America, and that was the regret that every man there felt that he was not here in France, too.

It has been a hard thing to perform the tasks in the United States; it has been a hard thing to take part in directing what you did without coming over and helping you to do it. It has taken a lot of moral courage to stay at home. But we are proud to back you up everywhere that it was possible to back you up, and now I am happy to find what splendid names you have made for yourselves among the civilian population of France as well as among

your comrades in the armies of the French, and it is a fine testimony to you men that these people like you and love you and trust you, and the finest part of it all is that you deserve their trust.

I feel a comradeship with you to-day which is delightful as I look down upon these undisturbed fields and think of the terrible scenes through which you have gone and realize how the quiet of peace, the tranquillity of settled hopes, has descended upon us. And, while it is hard, far away from home, confidently to bid you a merry Christmas, I can, I think, confidently promise you a happy New Year, and I can from the bottom of my heart say, God bless you!

CHRISTMAS MESSAGE FROM PARIS

I hope that it will cheer the people at home to know that I find their boys over here in fine form and in fine spirits, esteemed by all those with whom they have been associated in the war and trusted wherever they go; and they will also, I am sure, be cheered by the knowledge of the fact that throughout the great nations with which we have been associated in this war public opinion strongly sustains all proposals for a just and lasting peace and a close co-operation of the self-governing peoples of the world in making that peace secure after its present settlements are formulated.

Nothing could constitute a more acceptable Christmas reassurance than the sentiments which I find everywhere prevalent.

WELCOME TO LONDON

King George V and Queen Mary personally welcomed President Wilson at Charing Cross Station, London, on December 26.

On the evening of December 27 the King gave a banquet in the great hall of Buckingham Palace.

Buckingham Palace is on the west side of St. James's Park. It was built in 1705 for the then Duke of Buckingham. In 1762 George III purchased it for his London residence. President Wilson was lodged in the Belgian suite during his visit to London.

King George V, in proposing the health of President Wilson, spoke as follows:

This is a historic moment and your visit marks a historic epoch. Nearly 150 years have passed since your Republic began its independent life, and now, for the first time, a president of the United States is our guest in England.

We welcome you to the country whence came your ancestors and where stand the homes of those from whom sprang Washington and Lincoln. We welcome you for yourself, as one whose insight, calmness, and dignity in the discharge of his high duties we have watched with admiration. We see in you the happy union of the gifts of a scholar with those of a statesman. You came from a studious, academic quiet into the full stream of an arduous life, and your deliverances have combined breadth of view and grasp of world problems with the mastery of a lofty diction recalling that of your great orators of the past and of our own.

You come as the official head and spokesman of a mighty commonwealth bound to us by the closest ties. Its people speak the tongue of Shakespeare and Milton. Our literature is yours as yours is also ours, and men of letters in both countries have joined in maintaining its incomparable glories.

To you, not less than to us, belong the memories of our national heroes from King Alfred down to the days of Philip

Sidney and Drake, of Raleigh and Blake and Hampden, and the days when the political life of the English stock in America was just beginning. You share with us the traditions of free self-government as old as the Magna Carta.

We recognize the bond of still deeper significance in the common ideals which our people cherish. First among those ideals you value and we value freedom and peace. Privileged as we have been to be the exponents and the examples in national life of the principles of popular self-government based upon equal laws, it now falls to both of us alike to see how these principles can be applied beyond our own borders for the good of the world.

It was love of liberty, respect for law, good faith, and the sacred rights of humanity that brought you to the Old World to help in saving it from the dangers that were threatening around, and that arrayed those soldier-citizens of yours, whose gallantry we have admired, side by side with ours in the war.

You have now come to help in building up new states amid the ruins of those that the war has shattered and in laying the solid foundations of a settlement that may stand firm because it will rest upon the consent of the emancipated nationalities. You have eloquently expressed the hope of the American people, as it is our hope, that some plan may be devised to attain the end you have done so much to promote by which the risk of future wars may, if possible, be averted, relieving the nations of the intolerable burden which fear of war has laid upon them.

The British nation wishes all success to the deliberations on which you and we and the great free nations allied with us are now to enter, moved by disinterested good will and a sense of duty commensurate with the power which we hold as a solemn trust.

The American and British peoples have been brothers in arms, and their arms have been crowned with victory. We thank with all our hearts your valiant soldiers and sailors for their splendid part in that victory, as we thank the American people for their noble response to the call of civilization and humanity. May the same brotherly spirit inspire and guide our united efforts to secure for the world the blessings of an ordered freedom and an enduring peace.

In asking you to join with me in drinking the health of the President, I wish to say with what pleasure we welcome Mrs. Wilson to this country.

I drink to the health of the President of the United States and Mrs. Wilson and to the happiness and prosperity of the great American nation.

REPLY BY PRESIDENT WILSON

I am deeply complimented by the gracious words which you have uttered. The welcome which you have given me and Mrs. Wilson has been so warm, so natural, so evidently from the heart, that we have been more than pleased. We have been touched by it, and I believe that I correctly interpret that welcome as embodying not only your own generous spirit toward us personally, but also as expressing for yourself and the great nation over which you preside that same feeling for my people, for the people of the United States.

For you and I, sir—I temporarily —embody the spirit of two great nations, and whatever strength I have and whatever authority, I possess it only so long and so far as I express the spirit and purpose of the American people.

Every influence that the American people have over the affairs of the world is measured by their sympathy with the aspirations of freemen everywhere.

America does love freedom, and I believe that she loves freedom unselfishly. But if she does not, she will not and cannot have the influence to which she justly aspires.

I have had the privilege, sir, of conferring with the leaders of your own government and with the spokesmen of the governments of France and of Italy, and I am glad to say that I have the same conceptions that they have of the significance and scope of the duty on which we have met.

We have used great words, all of us have used the great words "Right" and "Justice," and now we are to prove whether or not we understand these words, and how they are to be applied to the particular settlements which must conclude this war. And we must not only understand them, but we must have the courage to act upon our understanding.

Yet, after I have uttered the word "Courage," it comes into my mind that it would take more courage to resist the great moral tide now running in the world than to yield to it, than to obey it.

There is a great tide running in the hearts of men. The hearts of men have never beaten so singularly in unison before. Men have never before been so conscious of their brotherhood. Men have never before realized how little difference there was between right and justice in one latitude and in another, under one sovereignty and under another.

And it will be our high privilege, I believe, sir, not only to apply the moral judgment of the world to the particular settlements which we shall attempt, but also to organize the moral force of the world to preserve those settlements, to steady the forces of mankind, and to make the right and the justice to which great nations like our own have devoted themselves the predominant and controlling force of the world.

There is something inspiring in knowing that this is the errand that we have come on. Nothing less than this would have justified me in leaving the important tasks which fall upon me upon the other side of the sea—nothing but the consciousness that nothing else compares with this in dignity and importance.

Therefore it is the more delightful to find myself in the company of a body of men united in ideal and purpose, and to feel that I am privileged to unite my thoughts with yours in carrying forward these standards which we are so proud to hold so high and to defend.

May I not, sir, with a feeling of profound sincerity and friendship and sympathy propose your health and the health of the Queen and the prosperity of Great Britain?

HIS GREATEST BIRTHDAY

On December 28, 1918, President Wilson celebrated his sixty-second birthday by a round of official activities.

King George called at the President's apartments at ten o'clock and wished him many happy returns of the day. For a birthday gift the King presented a magnificent set of books, and at the same time gave gifts to every member of the President's official party. The women received brooches, and the men stickpins set with diamonds forming the letters "G. R."

The President received gifts as tokens of the day from Mrs. Wilson and other members of his family. He said he considered it the greatest birthday of his life.

TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS' UNION

The League of Nations Union sent a delegation, headed by Viscount Grey, former secretary for foreign affairs. Other members were the Archbishop of Canterbury, ex-Premier Asquith, Viscount Bryce, Lord Shaw, and Sir Willoughby Dickinson.

Great Britain was, from the first, most hospitable to the idea of a League of Nations, and President Wilson was greatly encouraged by the support he received from public opinion in England.

Gentlemen: I am very much complimented that you should come in person to present this address, and I have been delighted and stimulated to find the growing and prevailing interest in the subject of the League of Nations—not only a growing interest, merely, but a growing purpose, which I am sure will prevail—and it is delightful that members of the government which brought this nation into the war because of the moral obligations based upon a treaty should be among those who have brought me this paper, because on the other side of the water we have greatly admired the motives and subscribed to the principles which actuated the government of Great Britain in obeying that moral dictate.

You have shown what we must organize, namely, that same force and sense of obligation; and unless we organize it the thing that we do now will not stand.

I feel that so strongly that it is particularly cheering to know just how strong and imperative the idea has become. I thank you very much indeed. It has been a privilege to see you personally.

I was just saying to Lord Grey that we had indirect knowledge of each other, and that I am glad to identify him. I feel as if I had met him long ago, and I had the pleasure of matching minds with Mr. Asquith yesterday.

TO THE COUNCIL OF FREE CHURCHES

Gentlemen: I am very much honored, and might say touched, by this beautiful address that you have just read, and it is very delightful to feel the comradeship of spirit which is indicated by a gathering like this.

You are quite right, sir, in saying that I do recognize the sanction of religion in these times of perplexity with matters so large to settle that no man can feel that his mind can compass them. I think one would go crazy if he did not believe in Providence. It would be a maze without a clue. Unless there were some supreme evidence, we would despair of the results of human counsel.

So that it is with genuine sympathy that I acknowledge the spirit and thank you for the generosity of your address.

AT THE GUILDHALL

The famous Guildhall of the Corporation of the City of London was built on the site of an ancient crypt facing a courtyard opening out of Gresham Street. It was rebuilt in 1411, was damaged by the Great Fire of 1666, and restored in 1789. Its great hall, 152 feet in length, is the scene of famous state and municipal banquets given by the Lord Mayor on behalf of the city. Enormous statues of the mythical gods of London, Gog and Magog, adorn the great hall.

At the state banquet given on December 28, 1918, President Wilson said:

Mr. Lord Mayor: We have come upon times when ceremonies like this have a new significance, which most impresses me as I stand here. The address which I have just heard is most generously and graciously conceived, and the delightful accent of sincerity in it seems like a part of that voice of counsel which is now everywhere to be heard. I feel that a distinguished honor has been conferred upon me by this reception, and I beg to assure you,

sir, and your associates of my very profound appreciation; but I know that I am only part of what I may call a great body of circumstances.

I do not believe that it was fancy on my part that I heard in the voice of welcome uttered in the streets of this great city and in the streets of Paris something more than a personal welcome.

It seemed to me that I heard the voice of one people speaking to another people, and it was a voice in which one could distinguish a singular combination of emotions. There was surely there the deep gratefulness that the fighting was over. There was the pride that the fighting had had such a culmination. There was that sort of gratitude that the nations engaged had produced such men as the soldiers of Great Britain and of the United States and of France and of Italy—men whose prowess and achievements they had witnessed with rising admiration as they moved from culmination to culmination.

But there was something more in it—the consciousness that the business is not yet done, the consciousness that it now rests upon others to see that those lives were not lost in vain.

I have not yet been to the actual battlefield, but I have been with many of the men who have fought the battles, and the other day I had the pleasure of being present at a session of the French Academy when they admitted Marshal Joffre to their membership.

That sturdy, serene soldier stood and uttered not the words of triumph, but the simple words of affection for his soldiers and the conviction which he summed up in a sentence which I will not try accurately to quote, but reproduce in its spirit. It was that France must always remember that the small and the weak could never live free in the

world unless the strong and the great always put their power and their strength in the service of right.

That is the afterthought—the thought that something must be done now, not only to make the just settlements—that, of course—but to see that the settlements remained and were observed and that honor and justice prevail in the world. And as I have conversed with the soldiers I have been more and more aware that they fought for something that not all of them had defined, but which all of them recognized the moment you stated it to them. They fought to do away with an old order and to establish a new one, and the center and characteristic of the old order was that unstable thing which we used to call the “balance of power,” a thing in which the balance was determined by the sword which was thrown in on the one side or the other, a balance which was determined by the unstable equilibrium of competitive interests, a balance which was maintained by jealous watchfulness and an antagonism of interests which, though it was generally latent, was always deep-seated.

The men who have fought in this war have been the men from the free nations who are determined that that sort of thing should end now and forever. It is very interesting to me to observe how from every quarter, from every sort of mind, from every concert of counsel, there comes the suggestion that there must now be not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set up against another, but a single, overwhelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustees of the peace of the world.

It has been delightful in my conferences with the leaders of your government to find how our minds moved along exactly the same line and how our thought was always that the key to the peace was the guaranty of the peace, not the items of it; that the items would be worthless unless

there stood back of them a permanent concert of power for their maintenance. That is the most reassuring thing that has ever happened in the world.

When this war began, the thought of a League of Nations was indulgently considered as the interesting thought of closeted students. It was thought of as one of those things that it was right to characterize by a name which, as a university man, I have always resented. It was said to be academic, as if that in itself were a condemnation—something that men could think about, but never get. Now we find the practical leading minds of the world determined to get it.

No such sudden and potent union of purpose has ever been witnessed in the world before. Do you wonder, therefore, gentlemen, that in common with those who represent you I am eager to get at the business and write the sentences down, and that I am particularly happy that the ground is cleared and the foundations laid? For we have already accepted the same body of principles. Those principles are clearly and definitely enough stated to make their application a matter which should afford no fundamental difficulty.

And back of us is that imperative yearning of the world to have all disturbing questions quieted, to have all threats against peace silenced, to have just men everywhere come together for a common object. The peoples of the world want peace and they want it now, not merely by conquest of arms, but by agreement of mind.

It was this incomparably great object that brought me overseas. It has never before been deemed excusable for a president of the United States to leave the territory of the United States, but I know that I have the support of the judgment of my colleagues in the government of the

United States in saying that it was my paramount duty to turn away even from the imperative tasks at home to lend such counsel and aid as I could to this great, may I not say final, enterprise of humanity.

AT THE MANSION HOUSE

The Mansion House is the official residence of the Lord Mayor of London—humorously called by *Punch* “The Munching House.” It was erected in 1740.

The Lord Mayor of London has these four special, dearly prized prerogatives:

1. He can close Temple Bar to the Sovereign. Temple Bar is the official boundary to “the city” proper.
2. In the city he ranks next the Sovereign.
3. On the accession of a Sovereign he is called to the Privy Council.
4. He is butler at any coronation during his term of office.

President Wilson spoke as follows at the Lord Mayor’s luncheon on December 28:

Mr. Lord Mayor, Your Royal Highness, Your Grace, Ladies and Gentlemen: You have again made me feel, sir, the very wonderful and generous welcome of this great city and you have reminded me of what has perhaps become one of the habits of my life.

You have said that I have broken all precedents in coming across the ocean to join in the counsels of the Peace Conference, but I think those who have been associated with me in Washington will testify that that is nothing surprising. I said to the members of the press in Washington one evening that one of the things that had interested me most since I lived in Washington was that every time I did anything perfectly natural it was said to be unprecedented.

It was perfectly natural to break this precedent, natural because the demand for intimate conference took precedence

over every other duty. And, after all, the breaking of precedents, though this may sound strange doctrine in England, is the most sensible thing to do. The harness of precedent is sometimes a very sad and harassing trammel. In this case the breaking of precedent is sensible for a reason that is very prettily illustrated in a remark attributed to Charles Lamb. One evening, in a company of his friends, they were discussing a person who was not present, and Lamb said, in his hesitating manner: "I h-hate that fellow." "Why Charles," one of his friends said, "I did not know that you knew him." "Oh," he said "I-I-I d-don't. I can't h-hate a man I know."

And perhaps that simple and attractive remark may furnish a secret for cordial international relationship. When we know one another we cannot hate one another.

I have been very much interested before coming here to see what sort of a person I was expected to be. So far as I can make out, I was expected to be a perfectly bloodless thinking machine, whereas I am perfectly aware that I have in me all the insurgent elements of the human race. I am sometimes by reason of long Scottish tradition able to keep these instincts in restraint. The stern Covenanter tradition that is behind me sends many an echo down the years. It is not only diligently to pursue business, but also to seek this sort of comradeship that I feel it is a privilege to have come across the seas, and in the welcome that you have accorded Mrs. Wilson and me you have made us feel that companionship was accessible to us in the most delightful and enjoyable form.

I thank you sincerely for this welcome, sir, and am very happy to join in a love feast which is all the more enjoyable because there is behind it a background of tragical suffering. Our spirits are released from the darkness of the clouds

that at one time seemed to have settled upon the world in a way that could not be dispersed, the sufferings of your people, the sufferings of the people of France, and the infinite suffering of the people of Belgium. The whisper of grief that has been blown all through the world is now silent, and the sun of hope seems to spread its rays and to charge the earth with a new prospect of happiness. So our joy is all the more elevated because we know that our spirits are now lifted out of that valley.

CARLISLE: VISITS HIS MOTHER'S HOME

The town of Carlisle, 8 miles south of the Scottish border and 300 miles north of London, was the birthplace and girlhood home of President Wilson's mother. Her father, the Rev. Thomas Woodrow, was minister of Lowther Street Congregational Church there.

In an informal chat with the newspaper correspondents, President Wilson laughingly told of how near he came to not being there at all. He said his mother, a child when she crossed the ocean, was nearly carried overboard while skipping a rope, but fortunately was rescued in time. "Otherwise," said the President, "I would never have been here!"

The President went to the Crown and Mitre Hotel, where prominent citizens were waiting to receive him. Here Thomas Watson, an aged house painter and the last living pupil of the school of President Wilson's grandfather, was introduced to the President.

Grasping the old man's hand, the President asked: "You remember my grandfather?"

"I'm afraid not. I was rather a small fellow," replied the old man, shyly.

President Wilson inspected documents dealing with the residence in Carlisle of his grandfather, the Rev. Thomas Woodrow, and then drove to the Salvation Army Hall, where once stood the building that was the President's mother's home. From here he visited the Cavendish House, in Warwick Road, which was built by his grandfather and in which his grandfather taught school and the President's mother also lived for a while. The President remained for ten minutes, and proceeded to the Lowther Street Congregational Church, which was crowded.

The congregation rose as the President and his party entered and were conducted to the front pew. As the party walked down the aisle the organist played "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

The pastor, the Rev. Mr. Booth, entered the pulpit, accompanied by the bishop of Carlisle, the Right Rev. John William Diggle, D.D., who read the second lesson and afterward made an address of welcome to the President.

At the conclusion of his sermon the Rev. Mr. Booth said:

"Mr. President, two-thirds of your name belongs here, as the words 'Thomas Woodrow' were inscribed on the church roll ninety-eight years ago. From then until 1835 he taught the church the word of God. He gathered around him a devoted band of people who learned to do righteously. Here his children, among them your sainted mother, learned to sing their hymns and to fear God. Hence the peculiar gratification which their church felt and expressed on your election to your high and honorable office, and which has deepened in the course of the eventful years of your presidency."

The Rev. Mr. Booth then reviewed the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers and the establishment of religious liberty in America.

"These men," he said, "laid the foundations for that great love of liberty and justice which has made the American people and which has found such practical expression in so signally helping to the great victory in the European struggle against oppression and wrong. Is it not a further manifestation of the same spirit which, in the Providence of God, is leading the world's conscience in its groping after universal peace?"

"Mr. President, our prayers for you ascend; our love to you is given, and our praise of you shall be sounded as long as we have breath.

"We all want to hear your voice. Won't you say a few words to us?"

The President then responded in the following words:

It is with unaffected reluctance that I inject myself into this service. I remember my grandfather very well, and, remembering him, I can see how he would not approve. I remember what he required of me and remember the stern lesson of duty he spoke. And I remember painfully about things he expected me to know that I did not know.

There has come a change of times when laymen like myself are permitted to speak in a congregation. There is another reason why I was reluctant to speak.

The feelings excited in me to-day are really too intimate and too deep to permit of public expression. The memories that come of the mother who was born here are very affecting. Her quiet character, her sense of duty, and her dislike of ostentation have come back to me with increasing force as these years of duty have accumulated. Yet perhaps it is appropriate that in a place of worship I should acknowledge my indebtedness to her and her remarkable father, because, after all, what the world now is seeking to do is to return to the paths of duty, to turn from the savagery of interests to the dignity of the performance of right.

I believe as this war has drawn nations temporarily together in a combination of physical force, we shall now be drawn together in a combination of moral force that is irresistible. It is moral force as much as physical force that has defeated the effort to subdue the world. Words have cut as deep as swords.

The knowledge that wrong has been attempted has aroused the nations. They have gone out like men for a crusade. No other cause could have drawn so many of the nations together. They knew an outlaw was abroad and that the outlaw purposed unspeakable things.

It is from quiet places like this all over the world that the forces are accumulated that presently will overpower any attempt to accomplish evil on a great scale. It is like the rivulet that gathers into the river and the river that goes to the sea. So there come out of communities like these streams that fertilize the conscience of men, and it is the conscience of the world we now mean to place upon the throne which others tried to usurp.

MANCHESTER

At Manchester, in the great county of Lancashire, the heart of British radicalism, the home of Cobden and Bright, the center of the cotton-spinning and coal-mining industries of the North of England, President Wilson made his longest and one of his most important speeches.

A former member of Parliament from Manchester, Colonel Worsley, was famous as the man to whom Oliver Cromwell gave the command to "remove that bauble" (the mace) from the clerk's table at Westminster, as his mandate to dissolve the Parliament in 1654.

While in Manchester the President took a trip through the famous Ship Canal, ten miles long, which connects Manchester with the sea at Eastham, near Liverpool. The canal was begun in 1894 and cost over \$82,000,000.

The large Free Trade Hall, seating over five thousand, was packed when the President spoke there on December 30 as follows:

IN THE FREE TRADE HALL

My Lord Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen—perhaps I may be permitted to add, Fellow Citizens: You have made me feel in a way that is deeply delightful the generous welcome which you have accorded me, and back of it I know there lies the same sort of feeling for the great people whom I have the privilege of representing.

There is a feeling of cordiality, fraternity, and friendship between the two great nations, and as I have gone from place to place and been made everywhere to feel the pulse of sympathy that is now beating between us, I have been led to some very serious thoughts as to what the basis of it all is. For I think you will agree with me that friendship is not a mere sentiment.

Patriotism is not a mere sentiment. It is based upon a principle; upon the principle that leads a man to give more than he demands. Similarly friendship is based not merely upon affection, but upon common service. The man is not

your friend who is not willing to serve you, and you are not his friend unless you are willing to serve him. And out of that impulse of common interest and desire of common service arises that noble feeling which consecrates friendship.

And so it does seem to me that the theme that we must have in our minds now in this great day of settlement is the theme of common interest, and the determination of what it is that is our common interest.

You know that heretofore the world has been governed, or at any rate the attempt has been made to govern it, by partnerships of interest and that they have broken down. Interest does not bind men together. Interest separates men. For the moment there is the slightest departure from the nice adjustment of interest, then jealousies begin to spring up.

There is only one thing that can bind peoples together, and that is a common devotion to right. Ever since the history of liberty began, men have talked about their rights, and it has taken several hundred years to make them perceive that the principal condition of right is duty, and that unless a man performs his full duty he is entitled to no right.

It is a fine corollary of the influence of duty that right is the equipoise and balance of society. And so when we analyze the present situation and the future that we now have to mold and control, it seems to me there is no other thought than that that can guide us.

You know that the United States has always felt from the very beginning of her story that she must keep herself separate from any kind of connection with European politics. I want to say very frankly to you that she is not now interested in European politics, but she is interested in the partnership of right between America and Europe.

If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power, the United States would take no interest, because she will join no combination of power which is not a combination of all of us. She is not interested merely in the peace of Europe, but in the peace of the world.

Therefore it seems to me that in the settlement which is just ahead of us something more delicate and difficult than was ever attempted before has to be accomplished—a genuine concert of mind and of purpose.

But, while it is difficult, there is an element present that makes it easy. Never before in the history of the world, I believe, has there been such a keen international consciousness as there is now. Men all over the world have been embarrassed by international antagonism.

There is a great voice in humanity abroad in the world just now which he who cannot hear is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the common conscience now in existence which if any statesman resist, he will gain the most unenviable eminence in history. We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity.

I am not hopeful that the individual items of the settlement which we are about to attempt will be altogether satisfactory. One has only to apply his mind to any one of the questions of boundary and of altered sovereignty and of racial aspirations to do something more than conjecture that there is no man and no body of men who know just how they ought to be settled; and yet if we are to make unsatisfactory settlements we must see to it that they are rendered more and more satisfactory by the subsequent adjustments which are made possible.

We must provide the machinery for readjustment in order

that we have the machinery of good will and friendship. Friendship must have a machinery. If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your mind, if I cannot coöperate with you, I cannot be your friend; and if the world is to remain a body of friends, it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant friendly intercourse, the means for constant watchfulness over the common interests.

That makes it necessary to make some great effort to have with one another an easy and constant method of conference so that troubles may be taken when they are little and not allowed to grow until they are big.

I never had a big difference with a man that I did not find when I came into conference with him that after all it was rather a little difference, and that if we were frank with one another and did not too much stand upon that great enemy of mankind which is called pride we could come together.

It is the wish to come together that is more than half of the process. It is a doctrine which ought to be easy of comprehension in a great commercial center like this. You cannot trade with a man who suspects you. You cannot establish commercial and industrial relations with those who do not trust you.

Good will is the forerunner of trade. Good will is the foundation of trade, and trade is the great amicable instrument of the world on that account.

I felt before I came here at home in Manchester—because Manchester has so many of the characteristics of our great American cities. I was reminded of an anecdote of a humorous fellow countryman of mine who was sitting at luncheon in his club one day and a man whom he did not like particularly came up and slapped him on the shoulders and said, "Hullo, Olley, how are you?" He looked at

him coldly and said, "I don't know your face and I don't know your name, but your manners are very familiar."

I don't know your name, but your manners are very delightfully familiar. So that I felt that in the community of interest and understanding which is established in great currents of trade we are enabled to see international progress perhaps better than they can be seen by others. I take it I am not far from right in supposing that is the reason why Manchester has been the center of the great forward-looking sentiments of men who had the instinct of large planning, not merely for the city itself, but for the kingdom and the empire and the world. And with that outlook we can be sure we can go shoulder and shoulder together.

I wish it were possible for us to do something such as some of my very stern ancestors did, for among my ancestors are those very determined persons who were known as the Covenanters. I wish we could, not for Great Britain and the United States, but for France, for Italy, and the world, enter into a great league and covenant declaring ourselves first of all friends of mankind and uniting ourselves together for the maintenance of the triumph of rights.

AT THE MIDLAND HOTEL

At a luncheon of prominent men in the Midland Hotel, Manchester, December 30, President Wilson said:

It is very interesting that the Lord Mayor should have referred in his address to very vital circumstances in our friendship. He referred to the fact that our men and your men have fought side by side in the great battles. But there was more than that in it. For the first time, upon such a scale at any rate, they have fought under a common commander. That is an advance which we have made upon the previous days, and what I have been particularly interested

in has been the generosity of spirit with which that unity of command has been assented to. I not only had the pleasure of meeting Marshal Foch, who confirmed my admiration of him by the direct and simple manner with which he dealt with every subject we talked about, but I had the pleasure of meeting your own commander, and I understand how they coöperated, because I saw they were real men.

It takes a real man to subordinate himself, and it takes a real soldier to know that unity of command is the secret of success. That unity of command did swing the power of nations into a mighty force. I think we all must have felt how the momentum which got into all of the armies was concentrated into the single army, and we felt we had overcome all the obstacles.

With our unity of command there arose a unity of spirit. The minute we consented to coöperate, our hearts were drawn closer together into coöperation, and so from the military side we had given ourselves an example for the years to come. Not that in the years to come we must submit to a unity of command, but it does seem to me that in the years to come we must plan a unity of purpose, and in that unity of purpose we shall find a great recompense, a strengthening of our spirit in everything that we do.

There is nothing so hampering and nothing so debasing as jealousy. It is a cancer in the heart. Not only that, but it is a cancer in the counting room. It is a cancer throughout all the processes of civilization, and having now seen we can fight shoulder to shoulder we will continue to advance shoulder to shoulder, and I think you will find that the people of the United States are not the least eager for the purpose.

I remember hearing the story of a warning that one of your Australian soldiers gave to one of ours. Our soldiers

were considered by the older men to be a bit rash when they were in the field. I understand that one friendly Australian said that our men were rather rough. On one occasion an Australian said to one of our men: "Man, a barrage is not a thing to lean up against."

They were a little bit inclined to lean up against the barrage, and yet I must confide to you that I was a bit proud of them for it. They had come over to get at the enemy and they didn't know why they should delay.

But now that there is no common enemy except distrust and marring of plans, we can all feel the same eagerness in the new combat and feel that there is a common enterprise before us.

We are not men because we have skill of hand, but we are men because we have elevation of spirit. It is in this spirit that we live and not in the task of the day. If it is not that, why is it that you hang the lad's musket or sword above the mantelpiece; but never hang the yardstick up?

There is nothing discreditable in the yardstick. It is altogether honorable, but he is using it for his own sake. But when he takes the musket or the sword he is giving everything and is getting nothing. It is honorable, not as an instrument, but as a symbol of self-sacrifice.

A friend of mine said very truly: "When peace is conducted in the spirit of war, there will be no war." When business is done with the point of view of the soldier who is serving his country, then business will be as histrionic as war.

I believe that from generation to generation steps of that sort are gaining more and more, and men are beginning to see, not, perhaps, the Golden Age, but an age which is conducting them from victory to victory and may lead us to an elevation from which we can see the things for which the heart of mankind has longed.

THE ETERNAL CITY

Civis Romanus sum used to be the proud boast of the citizen of Rome when the city on the seven hills was mistress of the world. Much of "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome" have departed, but Italy, under her democratic and farseeing King, Victor Emmanuel, is experiencing a veritable renascence.

It was with this thought in mind that President Wilson addressed the members of the Chamber of Deputies on January 3.

AT THE QUIRINAL PALACE

President Wilson was the guest of honor at an official dinner given at the Quirinal. There were only two addresses, by King Victor Emmanuel and by Mr. Wilson. The King said:

"You, yourself, Mr. President, are become our welcome and pleasing guest only to-day, but in the conscience of our people your personality already for a long time has inscribed itself in an ineffaceable way. It is that which in itself gathers all the powers which go to stimulate a will bent on liberty and justice and gives inspiration toward the highest conception of the destinies of humanity.

The enthusiastic salutations which have accompanied your passage through the streets of Rome to-day are attestations of the sentiments of admiration and recognition that your own name and labor and the name and labor of the United States stir in the Italian people. The principles in which you in magnificent synthesis have summed up the ideal reasons of the war for liberty find resonance in Italian hearts.

The best traditions of Italian culture, the liveliest currents of our national thoughts, have constantly aimed at the same ideal goal—toward the establishment of the international peace for which you have with tenacious faith stood. Already before the vicissitudes of war and the

fraternity of armies had established to-day's admirable communion of intentions and purposes between our two countries, legions of our workers had emigrated to your great Republic. They had knitted America and Italy together with strong cords of relationships, and these became reinforced by the spiritual affinity between both peoples, who had a common faith in the virtue of free political government.

When Italy entered into the war, a breath, a precursor of the American soul, penetrated into the rank and file of our army through the means of our workers who returned to the fatherland from America and brought into Italy an echo of their second *patria*. So, correspondingly, the Italian soul vibrated in the hearts of our emigrants enrolled under your banners when the American nation under your guidance threw itself into the fight against the common enemy.

It was natural that your visit, awaited with a most earnest desire, should now give form and expression almost tangible to this fervid agreement of spirits, to this happy communion of intentions and of ideals, forming themselves between the two peoples, and which are employed in a union always more intimate and a coöperation always more cordial in the face of the grave duties imposed by the common victory. Italy, having now gathered to her own bosom those brothers so long sorrowing under foreign oppression, and having reconquered the confines which alone can give her security and true independence, is preparing herself to coöperate with you in the most cordial manner to reach the most practical means for drawing into a single circle the civilized nations, for the purpose of creating in the supreme form of a League of Nations the conditions most fitting to safeguard and protect each one's rights. Italy and America entered together into the war

through a rare act of will; they were moved by the purpose to concur with all their energies in an effort to prevent the domination of the cult of force in the world; they were moved by the purpose to reaffirm in the scale of human values the principles of liberty and justice. They entered into war to conquer the powers of war. Their accomplishment is still unfinished, and the common work must still be developed with firm faith and with tenacious constancy for the purpose of affecting the security of peace.

I lift up my glass, Mr. President, in your honor and in the honor of Mrs. Wilson, whose gentle presence adds charm to your visit; I drink to the prosperity and to the continued and increasing prestige of the great American nation.

REPLY BY PRESIDENT WILSON

Your Majesty: I have been very much touched by the generous terms of the address you have just read. I feel it would be difficult for me to make a worthy reply, and yet if I could speak simply the things that are in my heart I am sure they could constitute an adequate reply.

I had occasion at the Parliament this afternoon to speak of the strong sympathy that had sprung up between the United States and Italy during the terrible years of the war, but perhaps here I can speak more intimately and say how sincerely the people of the United States had admired your own course and your own constant association with the armies of Italy, and the gracious and generous and serving association of Her Majesty the Queen.

It has been a matter of pride with us that so many Italians, so many men of Italian origin, were in our own armies and associated with their brethren in Italy itself in the great enterprise of freedom. These are no small matters, and

they complete that process of the welding together of the sympathies of nations which has been going on so long between our peoples.

The Italians in the United States have excited a particular degree of admiration. They, I believe, are the only people of a given nationality who have been careful to organize themselves to see that their compatriots coming to America were from month to month and year to year guided to places in industries most suitable to their previous habits. No other nationality has taken such pains as that, and in serving their fellow countrymen they have served the United States, because these people have found places where they would be most useful and would most immediately earn their own living and add to the prosperity of the country itself.

In every way we have been happy in our association at home and abroad with the people of this great state. I was saying, playfully, to Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino this afternoon that in trying to put the people of the world under their proper sovereignties we would not be willing to part with the Italians in the United States, because we too much value the contribution that they have made, not only to the industry of the United States, but to its thought and to many elements of its life.

This is, therefore, a very welcome occasion upon which to express a feeling that goes very deep. I was touched the other day to have an Italian, a very plain man, say to me that we had helped to feed Italy during the war, and it went to my heart, because we had been able to do so little. It was necessary for us to use our tonnage so exclusively for the handling of troops and of the supplies that had to follow them from the United States that we could not do half as much as it was our desire to do, to supply

grain to this country, or coal, or any of the supplies which it so much needed during the progress of the war.

And knowing as we did in this direct way the needs of the country, you will not wonder that we were moved by its steadfastness. My heart goes out to the little poor families all over this great kingdom who stood the brunt and the strain of the war and gave their men gladly to make other men free and other women and other children free. These are the people and many like them to whom, after all, we owe the glory of this great achievement, and I want to join with you, for I am sure of joining with you, in expressing my profound sympathy not only, but my very profound admiration as well.

It is my privilege and honor to propose the health of His Majesty the King and Her Majesty the Queen, and long prosperity to Italy.

IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

Your Majesty and Mr. President of the Chamber: You are bestowing upon me an unprecedented honor, which I accept because I believe that it is extended to me as the representative of the great people for whom I speak. And I am going to take this first opportunity to say how entirely the heart of the American people has been with the great people of Italy.

We have seemed no doubt indifferent at times, to look from a great distance, but our hearts have never been far away. All sorts of ties have long bound the people of our America to the people of Italy, and when the people of the United States, knowing this people, have witnessed its sufferings, its sacrifices, its heroic actions upon the battle-field, and its heroic endurance at home—its steadfast

endurance at home touching us more nearly to the quick even than its heroic action on the battlefield—we have been bound by a new tie of profound admiration.

Then back of it all, and through it all, running like the golden thread that wove it together, was our knowledge that the people of Italy had gone into this war for the same exalted principle of right and justice that moved our own people. And so I welcome this opportunity of conveying to you the heartfelt greetings of the people of the United States.

But we cannot stand in the shadow of this war without knowing there are things which are in some senses more difficult than those we have undertaken, because, while it is easy to speak of right and justice, it is sometimes difficult to work them out in practice, and there will be required a purity of motives and disinterestedness of object which the world has never witnessed before in the councils of nations.

It is for that reason that it seems to me you will forgive me if I lay some of the elements of the new situation before you for a moment. The distinguishing fact of this war is that great empires have gone to pieces. And the characteristics of those empires are that they held different peoples reluctantly together under the coercion of force and the guidance of intrigue.

The great difficulty among such states as those of the Balkans has been that they were always accessible to secret influence; that they were always being penetrated by intrigue of some sort or another; that north of them lay disturbed populations which were held together, not by sympathy and friendship, but by the coercive force of a military power.

Now the intrigue is checked and the bands are broken, and what we are going to provide is a new cement to hold

the people together. They have not been accustomed to being independent. They must now be independent.

I am sure that you recognize the principle as I do—that it is not our privilege to say what sort of a government they should set up. But we are friends of those people, and it is our duty as their friends to see to it that some kind of protection is thrown around them—something supplied which will hold them together.

There is only one thing that holds nations together, if you exclude force, and that is friendship and good will. The only thing that binds men together is friendship, and by the same token the only thing that binds nations together is friendship. Therefore our task at Paris is to organize the friendship of the world—to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united and are given a vital organization to which the peoples of the world will readily and gladly respond.

In other words, our task is no less colossal than this: To set up a new international psychology; to have a new real atmosphere. I am happy to say that, in my dealings with the distinguished gentlemen who lead your nation, and those who lead France and England, I feel that atmosphere gathering, that desire to do justice, that desire to establish friendliness, that desire to make peace rest upon right; and with this common purpose no obstacles need be formidable.

The only use of an obstacle is to be overcome. All that an obstacle does with brave men is not to frighten them, but to challenge them. So that it ought to be our pride to overcome everything that stands in the way.

We know that there cannot be another balance of power. That has been tried and found wanting, for the best of all reasons—that it does not stay balanced inside itself; and

a weight which does not hold together cannot constitute a make-weight in the affairs of men.

Therefore there must be something substituted for the balance of power, and I am happy to find everywhere in the air of these great nations the conception that that thing must be a thoroughly united League of Nations.

What men once considered theoretical and idealistic turns out to be practical and necessary. We stand at the opening of a new age in which a new statesmanship will, I am confident, lift mankind to new levels of endeavor and achievement.

TO ITALIAN JOURNALISTS

Let me thank you, gentlemen, very warmly for this stirring address, because it goes straight to my heart as well as to my understanding. If I had known that this important delegation was coming to see me, I would have tried to say something worthy of the occasion. As it is, I can only say that my purpose is certainly expressed in that paper, and I believe that the purpose of those associates at Paris is a common purpose. Justice and right are big things. And in these circumstances they are big with difficulty.

Understand. I am not foolish enough to suppose that our decisions will be easy to arrive at, but the principles upon which they are to be arrived at ought to be indisputable, and I have the conviction that if we do not rise to the expectations of the world and satisfy the souls of great peoples like the people of Italy, we shall have the most unenviable distinction in history. Because what is happening now is that the soul of one people is crying to the soul of another, and no people in the world with whose sentiments I am acquainted want a bargaining settlement. They all want settlements based upon right.

AT THE MUNICIPAL PALACE

Following the ceremony during which he became a citizen of Rome on January 3, President Wilson spoke as follows:

You have done me a very great honor. Perhaps you can imagine what a feeling it is for a citizen of one of the newest of the great nations to be made a citizen of this ancient city. It is a distinction which I am sure you are conferring upon me as a representative of the great people for whom I speak. One who has been a student of history cannot accept an honor of the sort without having his memory run back to the extraordinary series of events which have centered in this place.

But as I have thought to-day I have been impressed by the contrast between the temporary and permanent things. Many political changes have centered about Rome, from the time when from a little city she grew to be mistress of a great empire. Change after change has swept away many things, altering the very form of her affairs, but the thing that has remained permanent has been the spirit of Rome and the Italian people. That spirit seems to have caught with each age the characteristic purpose of the age.

This imperial people now gladly represents the freedom of nations. This people, which at one time seemed to conceive the purpose of governing the world, now takes part in the liberal enterprise of offering the world its own government. Can there be a finer or more impressive illustration of the indestructible human spirit and of the unconquerable spirit of liberty?

I have been reflecting in these recent days about a colossal blunder which has been made—the blunder of force by the

Central Empires. If Germany had waited a single generation, she would have had a commercial empire of the world. She was not willing to conquer by skill, by enterprise, by commercial success. She must needs attempt to conquer the world by arms, and the world will always acclaim the fact that it is impossible to conquer by arms; that the only thing that conquers is the sort of service which can be rendered in trade, in intercourse, in friendship, and that there is no conquering power which can suppress the freedom of the human spirit.

I have rejoiced personally in the partnership of the Italian and American people, because it is a new partnership in an old enterprise, an enterprise predestined to succeed wherever it is undertaken—the enterprise which has always borne that handsome name which we call “liberty.” Men have pursued it sometimes like a mirage that seemed to elude them, that seemed to run before them as they advanced, but never have they flagged in their purpose to achieve it, and I believe I am not deceived in supposing that in this age of ours they are nearer to it than they ever were before. The light that shone upon the summit now seems to shine almost at our feet, and if we lose it, it will only be because we have lost faith. A breath of hope and of confidence has come into the hearts and minds of men.

I would not have felt at liberty to come away from America if I had not felt that the time had arrived when, forgetting local interests and local ties and local purposes, men should unite in this great enterprise that will ever tie free men together as a body of brethren and a body of free spirits.

I am honored, sir, to be taken into this ancient comradeship of the citizenship of Rome.

MILAN

Milan, in Lombardy, is the financial center of Italy. It is a great railway junction. Consequently its trade is vast and varied, especially in machinery and textiles of all sorts. The Milanese have ever been independent and radical in politics and were the first to take part in the revolution of 1848. After Solferino and Magenta, Milan became part of the kingdom of modern Italy. The famous cathedral was begun in 1386 and it took six centuries to complete it.

ON HIS ARRIVAL

Speaking at the station on his arrival at Milan, on January 6, the President said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: You make my heart very warm indeed by a welcome like this, and I know the significance of this sort of a welcome in Milan, because I know how the hearts of Italy and of the Italian people beat strong here. It is delightful to feel how our thoughts have turned toward you from not a new but an ancient friendship; because the American people have long felt the pulse of Italy beat with their pulse with desire for freedom.

We have been students of your history. We know the vicissitudes and struggles through which you have passed. We know that no nation has more steadfastly held to a single course of freedom in its desires and its efforts than have the people of Italy, and therefore I come to this place, where the life of Italy seems to beat so strong, with a peculiar gratification.

I feel that I am privileged to come into contact with you, and I want you to know how the words I am uttering of sympathy and of friendship are not my own alone, but they are the words of the people whom I represent.

I was saying a little while ago at the monument of Columbus that he did a great thing, greater than was ever realized at the time it was done. He discovered a new continent

not only, but he opened it to the children of freedom, and these children are now privileged to come back to their mother and to assist her in the high enterprise upon which her heart has always been set. It is therefore with the deepest gratification that I find myself here and thank you for your generous welcome.

TO ITALIAN MOTHERS AND WIDOWS

At Milan the President spoke to the League of Mothers and Widows, saying:

I am very much touched by this evidence of your confidence, and I would like to express to you, if I could, the very deep sympathy I have for those who have suffered irreparable losses in Italy.

Our hearts have been touched and you have used the right word. Your men have come with the spirit of the crusaders against that which was wrong and in order to see to it, if it was possible, that such terrible things never would happen again. I am very grateful to you for your kindness.

AT THE ROYAL PALACE

In speaking to a large delegation which welcomed him to Milan, at the Royal Palace, the President said:

I cannot tell you how much complimented I am by your coming in person to give me this greeting. I have never known such a greeting as the people of Milan have given me on the streets. It has brought tears to my eyes, because I know that it comes from their hearts.

I can see in their faces the same things that I feel toward them, and I know that it is an impulse of their friendship toward the nation I represent as well as a gracious welcome to myself. I want to re-echo the hope that we may all

work together for a great peace as distinguished from a mean peace. May I suggest that this is a great deal in my thoughts.

The world is not going to consist now of great empires. It is going to consist for the most part of small nations apparently, and the only thing that can bind small nations together is the knowledge that each wants to treat the others fairly. That is the only thing. The world has already shown that its progress is industrial. You cannot trade with people whom you do not trust and who do not trust you.

Confidence is the basis of everything that we must do, and it is a delightful feeling that these ideals are sustained by the people of Italy and by a wonderful body of people such as you have in the great city of Milan. It is with a sense of added encouragement and strength that I return to Paris to take part in the council that will determine the items of the peace. I thank you with all my heart.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF ENTERTAINMENT

Mr. Chairman: Again you have been very gracious and again you have filled my heart with gratitude because of your reference to my country, which is so dear to me. I have been very much interested to be told, sir, that you are the chairman of the Committee of Entertainment, which includes all parties without distinction, and I am glad to interpret that to mean that there is no division recognized in the friendship which you have for America, and I am sure, sir, that I can assure you that in America there would be a similar union of all parties to express friendship and sympathy with Italy, because, after all, parties are founded upon differences of program and not often upon differences of national sympathy.

This is what gives imperishable victory, and with that victory have come about things that are exemplified in scenes like this—the coming together of the hearts of nations and the sympathy of great bodies of people who do not speak the same vocabulary but speak the same ideas. I am heartened by this delightful experience and hope that you will accept not only many thanks for myself and for those who are with me, but thanks on behalf of the American people.

A CITIZEN OF MILAN

The President's speech on the occasion of his acceptance of an honorary citizenship of Milan follows:

Mr. Mayor: May I not say to you, as the representative of this great city, that it is impossible for me to put into words the impressions I have received to-day. The overwhelming welcome, the spontaneous welcome, which so evidently came from the heart, has been profoundly moving to me, sir, and I have not failed to see the significance of that welcome. You have yourself referred to it.

I am as keenly aware, I believe, sir, as anybody can be that the social structure rests upon the great working classes of the world; that those working classes in the several countries of the world have, by their consciousness of a community of interest, by their consciousness of a community of spirit, done perhaps more than any other influence has to establish world opinion, which is not of the nation, not of the continent, but is the opinion, one might say, of mankind, and I am aware, sir, that those of us now charged with the very great and serious responsibility of concluding peace must think, act, and confer in the presence of this opinion—that we are not the masters of the fortunes of any nation, but are the servants of mankind; that it is not our privilege to

follow special interests, but it is our manifest duty to study only the general interest.

This is a solemn thing, sir, and here in Milan, where I know so much of the pulse of international sympathy beats, I am glad to stand up and say that I believe that pulse beats also in my own veins, and that I am not thinking of the particulars of the settlement.

I am very much touched to-day, sir, to receive at the hands of wounded soldiers a memorial in favor of the League of Nations and be told by them that was what they had fought for—not merely to win the war, but to secure something beyond; some guaranties of justice, some equilibrium for the world as a whole which would make it certain that they would never have to fight a war like this again. This is an added obligation upon us who make peace. We cannot merely sign a treaty of peace and go home with a clear conscience. We must do something more. We must add so far as we can the securities which suffering men everywhere demand.

I take my hat off to the great people of Italy and tell them my admiration has merged into friendship and affection. It is in this spirit that I receive your courtesy, sir, and thank you from the bottom of my heart for this unprecedented reception which I have received at the hands of your generous people.

FROM LA SCALA BALCONY

I wish I could take you all to some place where a similar body of my fellow countrymen could show their heart toward you as you have shown me your heart toward them, because the heart of America has gone out to the heart of Italy. We have been watchful of your heroic struggle

and of your heroic sufferings, and it has been our joy in these recent days to be associated with you in the victory which has liberated Italy and liberated the world. *Viva l'Italia!*

TO THE MILANESE PUBLIC

The thing that makes parties workable and tolerable is that all parties love their own country and, therefore, participate in the general sentiments of that country, and so it is with us, sir. We have many parties, but we have a single sentiment in this war and a single sentiment in the peace, and in that sentiment lies our feeling toward those with whom we have been associated in the great struggle. At first the struggle seemed to be a natural resistance to an aggressive force, but as the consciousness of the nation grew it became more and more apparent that in the aggression of the Central Empires was the spirit of militarism, the spirit of autocracy, the spirit of force, and against that spirit there arose, as always in the past, the spirit of liberty and justice.

Force can always be conquered, but the spirit of liberty can never be; and the beautiful circumstance about the history of liberty is that its champions have always shown the power of self-sacrifice. They have always been willing to subordinate their personal interests to the common good and have not wished to dominate their fellow men, but have wished to serve them.

This is what gives imperishable victory, and with that victory have come about things that are exemplified in scenes like this—the coming together of the hearts of nations and the sympathy of great bodies of people who do not speak the same vocabulary but speak the same ideas.

GENOA

Genoa is the chief port and the largest commercial city of Italy. Had it been able to give Columbus the support he asked, the New World might have belonged to Italy instead of to Spain. But Genoa was partially compensated for this loss by becoming the financial backer of Spain in the period of her colonial expansion.

Giuseppe Mazzini was born in Genoa and struggled hard to keep alive its republican spirit. Mazzini (1805-1872) was the prophet of Italian unity and independence, Garibaldi its knight-errant, and Cavour its creator. Mazzini was called by Carlyle "a man of genius and virtue—a martyr soul." Driven from Italy, he lived in London for many years. A sturdy republican and a devout Christian, Mazzini kept alive the spirit of democracy in Europe which, even now, is bearing rich fruit in his native land.

AT THE MAZZINI MONUMENT

I am very much moved sir, to be in the presence of this monument. On the other side of the water we have studied the life of Mazzini with almost as much pride as if we shared in the glory of his history, and I am very glad to acknowledge that his spirit has been handed down to us of a later generation on both sides of the water.

It is delightful to me to feel that I am taking some part in accomplishing the realization of the ideals to which his life and thought were devoted. It is with a spirit of veneration, sir, and with a spirit, I hope, of emulation, that I stand in the presence of this monument and bring my greetings and the greetings of America with our homage to the great Mazzini.

GIFT OF MAZZINI'S WORKS

The writings of Mazzini are very voluminous. Besides much journalistic and propaganda work he wrote the following books, probably among those presented to President Wilson: *Italian Literature since*

1830; *Paolo Sarpi*; *Lamennais*; *George Sand*; *Byron and Goethe*; *Lamartine*; *Carlyle*; *Minor Works of Dante*; *On the Duties of Man*, and *Life and Writings* (autobiography).

Mr. Mayor: It is with many feelings of a very deep sort, perhaps too deep for adequate expression, that I find myself in Genoa, which is a natural shrine for Americans. The connections of America with Genoa are so many and so significant that in some sense it may be said that we drew our life and beginnings from this city.

You can realize, therefore, sir, with what emotion I receive the honor which you have so generously conferred upon me in the citizenship of this great city. In a way it seems natural for an American to be a citizen of Genoa, and I shall always count it among the most delightful associations of my life that you should have conferred this honor upon me, and, in taking away this beautiful edition of the works of Mazzini, I hope that I shall derive inspiration from this volume as I already have derived guidance from the principles which Mazzini so eloquently expressed.

It is delightful to feel how the voice of one people speaks to another through the mouths of men who have by some gift of God been lifted above the common level; and, therefore, these words of your prophet and leader will, I hope, be deeply planted in the hearts of my fellow countrymen. There is already planted in those hearts, sir, a very deep and genuine affection for the great Italian people, and the thoughts of my own nation turn constantly, as we read our history, to this delightful and distinguished city.

May I not thank you, sir, for myself and for Mrs. Wilson, and for my daughter, for the very gracious welcome you have accorded us, and express my pride and pleasure.

AT THE COLUMBUS STATUE

Near the Piazza Acquaverde, among a grove of palm trees, is a noble statue of Columbus, at whose feet kneels the figure of America. At Columbus Circle, at the intersection of Fifty-ninth Street and Seventh Avenue, in New York City, there is a monument to Columbus, erected in 1894 by the Italian residents of the city, from the design of Gaetano Russo.

Standing in front of this monument, sir, I fully recognize the significance of what you have said. Columbus did do a service to mankind in discovering America, and it is America's pleasure and America's pride that she has been able to show that it was a service to mankind to open that great continent to settlement, the settlement of a free people, of a people who, because they are free, desire to see other peoples free and to share their liberty with the people of the world.

It is for this reason, no doubt, besides his fine spirit of adventure, that Columbus will always be remembered and honored, not only here in the land of his birth, but throughout the world, as the man who led the way to those fields of freedom which, planted with a great seed, have now sprung up to the fructification of the world.

TURIN

Turin was the capital of Sardinia until 1860 and of Italy until 1865. It is quite modern in appearance, its streets being laid out in American fashion, at right angles. It is the center of the automobile industry in Italy and leads in the commercial use of electricity. The university of Turin was founded in 1400 and is attended by over twenty-five hundred students. Many of its present buildings were erected in 1713. Others have been subsequently added.

THE GUEST OF THE CITY

As I passed through your streets I had this sensation, a sensation which I have often had in my own dear country at home, a sensation of friendship and of close sympathetic contact. I could have believed myself in an American city. I felt more than that. I felt what I have also felt at home, that the real blood of the republic flowed in the veins of these plain people who, more than some of the rest of us, have borne the stress and burden of war.

Think of the price at which you and at which I have purchased the victory which we have won. Think of the price of blood and treasure not only, but the price of tears and the price of hunger on the part of little children, of the hopes delayed or the dismayed prospects that bore heavy upon the homes. Those of us who plan battles and those of us who conceive political movements do not bear the burden of them. We direct and the others execute. We plan and the others perform, and the conquest of spirit is greater than the conquest of arms.

These are the people that never let go. They say nothing. They live merely from day to day, determined that the glory of Italy, or that the glory of the United States, shall not depart from her.

I have been thinking as I passed through your streets and stood here that this was the place of the labors of the great Cavour, and I thought how impossible would have been many of the things which have happened in Italy since his day and how impossible the great achievements of Italy in the last three years would have been without the work of Cavour. Ever since I was a boy one of my favorite portraits has been a portrait of Cavour, because I have read of him and of the way in which his mind took

in the nations, and of the national scope of his strong, determined, and patriotic endeavor that never allowed obstacles to dismay and always stood at the side of the King and planned the great things which the King was enabled to accomplish.

And I had another thought. This is a great industrial city. Perhaps you gentlemen think of the members of your government and the members of other governments who are going to confer in the city of Paris as the real makers of war and peace. But we are not. You are the makers of war and peace. The pulse of the modern world beats on the farms, and in the mines, and in the factories. The plans of the modern world are made in the counting house. The men who do the business of the world now shape the destinies of the world, and peace or war is now in a large measure in the hands of those who conduct the commerce of the world. That is one reason why, unless we establish friendships, unless we establish sympathies, we clog all the processes of modern life. I have several times said that you cannot trade with a man who does not trust you. And you will not trade with a man whom you do not trust. Trust is the very vital life and breath of business, and suspicion and unjust national rivalries stand in the way of trade and stand in the way of industry.

A country is owned and dominated by the capital that is invested in it. I do not need to instruct you gentlemen in that fundamental idea. In proportion as foreign capital comes in among you and takes its hold, in that proportion does foreign influence come in and take its hold, and, therefore, the processes of capital are in an actual sense the processes of conquest.

I have only this suggestion before we go to Paris to

conclude a peace. You stay here to continue it. We can start the peace, but it is your duty to continue it. We can only make the large conclusions. You constantly transact the detail which constitutes the processes or the life of a nation.

And so it is very delightful to me to stand in this company and feel that we are not foreigners to each other. We think the same thoughts, we entertain the same purposes, we have the same ideals, and this war has done this inestimable service—it has brought the nations into close and vital contact so that they feel the pulses that are in each other and so that they know the purposes by which each is animated.

We know in America a great deal about Italy because we have so many Italians. Fellow citizens, when Baron Sonnino (the Italian foreign minister) was arguing the other day for the extension of the sovereignty of Italy over the Italian populations, I said to him that I was sorry we could not let you have New York, which, I understand, is the greatest Italian city in the world. I am told that there are more Italians in New York City than in any city in Italy, and I am proud to be president of a nation which contains so large an element of the Italian race, because as a student of literature I know the genius that has originated in this great nation, the genius of thought and of poetry and philosophy and of music. I am happy to be a part of the nation which is enriched and made better by the introduction of such elements of genius and of inspiration.

May I not again thank the representatives of this great city and the representatives of the government for the welcome they have given me and say again, for I cannot say it too often, "Viva l'Italia."

AT THE UNIVERSITY

Mr. Rector, Gentlemen of the Faculties of the University, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with a feeling of being in very familiar scenes that I come here to-day. As soon as I entered the quadrangle and heard the voices of the students, it seemed to me as if the greater part of my life had come back to me, and I am particularly honored that this distinguished university should have received me among its sons. It will always be a matter of pride with me to remember this association and the very generous words in which these honors have been conferred upon me.

When I think seriously of the significance of a ceremony like this, some very interesting reflections come to my mind, because, after all, the comradeship of letters, the intercommunications of thought, are among the permanent things of the world.

There was a time when scholars, speaking in the beautiful language in which the last address was made, were the only international characters of the world; the time was when there was only one international community, the community of scholars. As ability to read and write was extended, international intercommunication was extended. But one permanent common possession has remained, and that is the validity of sound thinking.

When men have thought along the lines of philosophy, have had revealed to them the visions of poetry, have worked out in their studies the permanent lines of law, have realized the great impulses of humanity, they then begin to advance the human web which no power can permanently tear and destroy.

And so, in being taken into the comradeship of this university, I feel that I am being taken into one of these things which will always bind the nations together. After

all, when we are seeking peace we are seeking nothing else than this, that men shall think the same thoughts, govern their conduct by the same impulse, entertain the same purposes, love their own people, but also love humanity, and, above all else, love that great and indestructible thing which we call justice and right.

These things are greater than we are. These are our real masters, for they dominate our spirits, and the universities will have forgotten their duty when they cease to weave this immortal web. It is one of the chief griefs of this great war that the universities of the Central Empires used the thoughts of science to destroy mankind.

It is the duty of the great universities of Italy and of the rest of the world to redeem science from this disgrace, to show that the pulse of humanity also beats in the classroom, that the pulse of humanity also beats in the laboratory, and that there are sought out, not the secrets of death, but the secrets of life.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE OPENS

In the reception hall of the French Foreign Office, on the Quai d'Orsay, the Peace Conference was formally opened on January 18, with an address by President Raymond Poincaré.

Just at three o'clock a ruffle of drums and blare of trumpets announced the approach of M. Poincaré. The French President was escorted by the group of premiers to the head of the table, while a hush fell upon the assemblage as the moment arrived for the opening of the Congress.

It was exactly 3:03 when M. Poincaré began his address and the Peace Congress came into being. The entire assemblage stood as the President spoke. M. Poincaré spoke in an earnest, easy manner, without declamatory effect, and, following usage, there was no applause or interruption.

M. Poincaré spoke in French, and when he had concluded, an interpreter read the presidential discourse in English.

As M. Poincaré closed he turned to receive the congratulations of President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George, and then withdrew, greeting each delegation as he retired.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT POINCARE

Gentlemen: France greets and thanks you for having chosen as the seat of your labors the city which for more than four years the enemy has made his principal military objective, and which the valor of the allied armies has victoriously defended against unceasingly renewed offensives.

Permit me to see in your decision the homage of all the nations that you represent toward a country which, more than any other, has endured the sufferings of war, of which entire provinces have been transformed into a waste battle-field and have been systematically laid waste by the invader, and which has paid the human tribute in death.

France has borne these enormous sacrifices, although she had not the slightest responsibility for the frightful catastrophe which has overwhelmed the universe, and, at the moment when the cycle of horror is ending, all the powers whose delegates are assembled here may acquit themselves

of any share in the crime which has resulted in so unprecedented a disaster. What gives you the authority to establish a peace of justice is the fact that none of the peoples of whom you are the delegates has had any part in the injustice. Humanity can place confidence in you, because you are not among those who have outraged the rights of humanity.

There is no need of further information or for special inquiries into the origin of the drama which has just shaken the world. The truth, bathed in blood, has already escaped from the Imperial archives. The premeditated character of the trap is to-day clearly proved.

In the hope of conquering first the hegemony of Europe and next the mastery of the world, the Central Empires, bound together by a secret plot, found the most abominable of pretexts for trying to crush Serbia and force their way to the East. At the same time they disowned the most solemn undertakings in order to crush Belgium and force their way into the heart of France.

These are the two unforgettable outrages which opened the way to aggression. The combined efforts of Great Britain, France, and Russia were exerted against that man-made arrogance.

If, after long vicissitudes, those who wished to reign by the sword have perished by the sword, they have but themselves to blame. They have been destroyed by their own blindness. What could be more significant than the shameful bargains they attempted to offer to Great Britain and France at the end of July, 1914, when to Great Britain they suggested, "Allow us to attack France on land and we will not enter the Channel," and when they instructed their ambassador to say to France, "We will only accept a declaration of neutrality on your part if you surrender

to us Briey, Toulon, and Verdun." It is in the light of these things, gentlemen, that all the conclusions you will have to draw from the war will take shape.

Your nations entered the war successively, but came one and all to the help of threatened right. Like Germany, Great Britain had guaranteed the independence of Belgium. Germany sought to crush Belgium. Great Britain and France both swore to save her. Thus from the very beginning of hostilities there came into conflict the two ideas which for fifty months were to struggle for the domination of the world—the idea of sovereign force, which accepts neither control nor check, and the idea of justice, which depends on the sword only to prevent or repress the abuse of strength.

Faithfully supported by her dominions and colonies, Great Britain decided that she could not remain aloof from a struggle in which the fate of every country was involved. She has made, and her dominions and colonies have made with her, prodigious efforts to prevent the war from ending in a triumph for the spirit of conquest and destruction of right.

Japan, in her turn, only decided to take up arms out of loyalty to Great Britain, her great ally, and from the consciousness of the danger in which both Asia and Europe would have stood from the hegemony of which the Germanic Empires dreamed.

Italy, who from the first had refused to lend a helping hand to German ambition, rose against an age-long foe only to answer the call of oppressed populations and to destroy at the cost of her blood the artificial political combination which took no account of human liberty.

Rumania resolved to fight only to realize that national unity which was opposed by the same powers of arbitrary

force. Abandoned, betrayed, and strangled, she had to submit to an abominable treaty, the revision of which you will exact.

Greece, whom the enemy for several months tried to turn from her traditions and destinies, raised an army to escape attempts at domination of which she felt the growing threat.

Portugal, China, and Siam abandoned neutrality only to escape the strangling pressure of the Central Powers. Thus it was the extent of German ambitions that brought so many people, great and small, to align against the same adversary.

And what shall we say of the solemn resolutions taken by the United States in the spring of 1917, under the auspices of the illustrious president, Mr. Wilson, whom I am happy to greet here in the name of grateful France, and if you will allow me to say so, gentlemen, in the name of all the nations represented in this room?

What shall I say of the many other American powers which either declared themselves against Germany—Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Honduras—or at least broke off diplomatic relations—Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay? From north to south the New World rose with indignation when it saw the Empires of Central Europe, after having let loose the war without provocation and without excuse, carry it on with fire, pillage, and massacre of inoffensive beings.

The intervention of the United States was something more, something greater, than a great political and military event. It was a supreme judgment passed at the bar of history by the lofty conscience of a free people and their chief magistrate on the enormous responsibilities incurred in the frightful conduct which was lacerating humanity.

It was not only to protect themselves from the audacious aims of German megalomania that the United States equipped fleets and created immense armies, but also and above all to defend an ideal of liberty over which they saw the huge shadow of the Imperial eagle encroaching farther every day. America, the daughter of Europe, crossed the ocean to wrest her mother from the humiliation of thraldom and to save civilization.

The American people wished to put an end to the greatest scandal that has ever sullied the annals of mankind. Autocratic governments, having prepared in the secrecy of the chancelleries and General Staff a mad program of universal dominion, at the time fixed by their genius for intrigue let loose their packs and sounded the horns for the chase, ordering science, at the very time when it was beginning to abolish distances, to bring men closer and make life sweeter, to leave the bright sky toward which it was soaring, and to place itself submissively at the service of violence; lowering the religious ideas to the extent of making God the complacent auxiliary of their passions and the accomplice of their crimes; in short, counting as naught the traditions and wills of peoples, the lives of citizens, the honor of women, and all those principles of public and private morality which we, for our part, have endeavored to keep unaltered through the war, and which neither nations nor peoples can repudiate or disregard with impunity.

While the conflict was gradually extending over the entire surface of the earth, the clanking of chains was heard here and there, and captive nationalities, from the depths of their age-long jails, cried out to us for help. Yet more, they escaped to come to our aid. Poland came to life again; sent us troops. The Czecho-Slovaks won their

rights to independence in Siberia, in France and Italy. The Jugo-Slavs, the Armenians, the Syrians, and the Lebanese, the Arabs, all the oppressed peoples, all the victims long helpless or resigned of great historic deeds of injustice, all the martyrs of the past, all the outraged consciences, all the strangled liberties, reviewed the clash of arms and turned toward us as their natural defenders.

War gradually attained the fullness of its first significance and became in the fullest sense of the term a crusade of humanity for right, and if anything can console us, in part at least, for the losses we have suffered, it is assuredly the thought that our victory is also the victory of right. This victory is complete, for the enemy only asked for the armistice to escape from an irretrievable military disaster. In the interest of justice and peace it now rests with you to reap from this victory its full fruits.

In order to carry out this immense task you have decided to admit at first only the allied or associated powers, and in so far as their interests are involved in the debates the nations which remained neutral. You have thought that the terms of peace ought to be settled among ourselves before they are communicated to those against whom we have together fought the good fight.

The solidarity which has united us during the war and has enabled us to win military success ought to remain unimpaired during the negotiations for and after the signing of the treaty.

It is not only the governments but free peoples who are represented here. To the test of danger they have learned to know and help one another. They want their intimacy of yesterday to assure the peace of to-morrow. Vainly would our enemies seek to divide us. If they have not yet renounced their customary manœuvres, they will soon

find that they are meeting to-day, as during the hostilities, a homogeneous block which nothing will be able to disintegrate. Even before the armistice you reached that necessary unity under the aid of the lofty and moral and political truths of which President Wilson has nobly made himself the interpreter, and in the light of these truths you intend to accomplish your mission.

You will, therefore, seek nothing but justice, justice that has no favorites, justice in territorial problems, justice in financial problems, justice in economic problems. But justice is not inert, it does not submit to injustice. What it demands first when it has been violated are restitution and reparation.

It is not only governments, but justice, that demands first, when it has been violated, restitution and reparation for the peoples and individuals who have been despoiled or maltreated. In formulating this lawful claim it obeys neither hatred nor an instinctive or thoughtless desire for reprisals. It pursues a twofold object—to render to each his due and not to condone the crime through leaving it unpunished.

What justice also demands, inspired by the same feeling, is the punishment of the guilty and effective guaranties against an active return of the spirit by which they were prompted, and it is logical to demand that these guaranties should be given, above all, to the nations that have been and might again be most exposed to aggression or threat, to those who have many times stood in danger of being submerged by the periodic tide of the same invasion.

What justice banishes is the dream of conquest and imperialism, contempt for national will, the arbitrary exchange of provinces between states, as though people were but articles of furniture or pawns in a game. The

time is no more when diplomatists could meet to redraw with authority the map of the world on the corner of a table.

If you are to remake the map of the world, it is in the name of the peoples, and one condition is that you shall faithfully interpret their thoughts and respect the rights of nations, small and great, to dispose of themselves, and to reconcile with this the equally sacred right of ethnical and religious minorities—a formidable task which science and history, your two advisers, will contribute to assist and facilitate.

You will naturally strive to secure the material and moral means of subsistence for all those people who are constituted or reconstituted into states, for those who wish to unite themselves to their neighbors, for those who divide themselves according to their regained traditions, and, lastly, for all those whose freedom you have already sanctioned or are about to sanction. You will not call them into existence only to sentence them to death immediately, because you would like your work in this, as in all other matters, to be fruitful and lasting.

While introducing into the world as much harmony as possible, you will, in conformity with the fourteenth of the propositions adopted by the great allied powers, establish a general League of Nations, which will be the supreme guaranty against any fresh assault upon the right of peoples. You do not intend this international association to be against anybody in the future. It will not, of a set purpose, shut out anybody, but, having been organized by the nations that have sacrificed themselves in the defense of right, it will receive from them its statutes and fundamental rules.

It will lay down conditions concerning present or future adherence, and as it is to have for its essential aim the

prevention, as far as possible, of the renewal of wars, it will, above all, seek to gain respect for the peace which you will have established, and will find it the less difficult to maintain in proportion as this peace will in itself imply the greater realities of justice and safer guaranties of stability.

By this new order of things you will meet the aspirations of humanity, which, after the frightful conclusions of the blood-stained years, ardently wishes to feel itself protected by a union of free peoples against every possible revival of primitive savagery. An immortal glory will attach to the names of the nations and the men who have desired to coöperate in this grand work in faith and brotherhood, and who have taken the pains to eliminate from the future peace causes of disturbance and instability.

This very day forty-eight years ago—on the eighteenth of January, 1871—the German Empire was proclaimed by an army of invasion in the chateau at Versailles. It was consecrated by the fate of two French provinces. It was thus a violation from its origin, and, by the fault of its founders, it was born in injustice. It has ended in oblivion.

You are assembled in order to repair the evil that has been done, and to prevent a recurrence of it. You hold in your hands the future of the world. I leave you, gentlemen, to your grave deliberations, and declare the Conference of Paris open.

NOMINATES M. CLEMENCEAU

President Wilson rose as M. Poincaré made his exit, and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman: It gives me great pleasure to propose as permanent chairman of the Conference M. Clemenceau, the president of the Council.

I would do this as a matter of custom. I would do this as a tribute to the French Republic. But I wish to do it as something more than that. I wish to do it as a tribute to the man.

France deserves the precedence not only because we are meeting at her capital and because she has undergone some of the most tragical suffering of the war, but also because her capital, her ancient and beautiful capital, has so often been the center of conferences of this sort, on which the fortunes of large parts of the world turned.

It is a very delightful thought that the history of the world, which has so often centered here, will now be crowned by the achievements of this Conference—because there is a sense in which this is the supreme conference of the history of mankind.

More nations are represented here than were ever represented in such a conference before. The fortunes of all peoples are involved. A great war is ended, which seemed about to bring a universal cataclysm. The danger is past. A victory has been won for mankind, and it is delightful that we should be able to record these great results in this place.

But it is more delightful to honor France because we can so honor her in the person of so distinguished a servant. We have all felt in our participation in the struggles of this war the fine steadfastness which characterized the leadership of the French in the hands of M. Clemenceau. We have learned to admire him, and those of us who have been associated with him have acquired a genuine affection for him.

Moreover, those of us who have been in these recent days in constant consultation with him know how warmly his purpose is set toward the goal of achievement to which all our faces are turned. He feels as we feel, as I have no

doubt everybody in this room feels, that we are trusted to do a great thing, to do it in the highest spirit of friendship and accommodation, and to do it as promptly as possible in order that the hearts of men may have fear lifted from them and that they may return to those purposes of life which will bring them happiness and contentment and prosperity.

Knowing his brotherhood of heart in these great matters, it affords me a personal pleasure to propose that M. Clemenceau shall be the permanent chairman of this Conference.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE SECONDS NOMINATION

Premier Lloyd George seconded the nomination of M. Clemenceau, speaking earnestly of the distinguished services the French premier had rendered in war and peace. Mr. Lloyd George said:

I count it not merely a pleasure, but a great privilege, that I should be expected on behalf of the British Empire delegates to support the motion of President Wilson. I do so for the reason which he has so eloquently given expression to, as a tribute to the man. When I was a school boy, M. Clemenceau was a compelling and a conscious figure in the politics of his native land, and his fame had extended far beyond the bounds of France.

Were it not for that undoubted fact, Mr. President, I should have treated as a legend the common report of your years. I have attended many conferences with M. Clemenceau, and in them all the most vigorous, the most enduring, and the most youthful figure there has been that of M. Clemenceau. He has had the youthfulness, he has had the hopefulness and the fearlessness of youth. He is indeed the "grand young man" of France, and I am proud to stand here to propose that he should take the chair in this great Conference that is to settle the peace of the world.

I know of none better qualified, or as well qualified, to occupy this chair than M. Clemenceau. And I speak from my experience in its claim. He and I have not always agreed, we have very often agreed. We have sometimes disagreed, and we have always expressed our disagreements very emphatically, because we are ourselves.

But, although there will be delays, and inevitable delays, in the signing of peace, due to the inherent difficulties of what we have to settle, I will guarantee from my knowledge of M. Clemenceau that there will be no waste of time. And that is important.

The world is thirsting and hungering for peace. There are millions of people who want to get back to the world-work of peace. And the fact that M. Clemenceau is in the chair will be proof that they will get there without any delays which are due to anything except the difficulties which are essential in what we have to perform. He is one of the great speakers of the world. But no one knows better than he that the best speaking is that which impels beneficent actions.

I have another reason. During the dark days we have passed through, his courage, his unfailing courage, his untiring energy, his inspiration, have helped the Allies through to triumph, and I know of no one to whom that victory is more attributable than the man who sits in this chair. In his own person, more than any living man, he represents the heroism, he represents the genius, of the indomitable people of his land.

And for these reasons I count it a privilege that I should be expected to second this motion.

Baron Sonnino, the Italian foreign minister, added Italy's tribute, whereupon the election of M. Clemenceau as presiding officer was made unanimous.

M. CLEMENCEAU'S REPLY

In a feeling address, M. Clemenceau acknowledged the honor conferred upon him. He turned first to President Wilson and bowed his thanks; then to Mr. Lloyd George for the tribute he had paid him. It was not alone a tribute to him, he said, but to France. Premier Clemenceau responded as follows:

You would not expect me to keep silence after what the two eminent statesmen who have just spoken have said. I cannot help expressing my great, my profound gratitude to the illustrious President of the United States, to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and to Baron Sonnino for the words I have just heard from their lips.

Long ago, when I was young, as Mr. Lloyd George has recalled to you, when I was traveling in America and in England I always heard the French reproached for an excess of courtesy, which sometimes went beyond the truth. As I listened to the American statesman and to the English statesman I wondered whether they had not caught in Paris our national disease of courtesy. Nevertheless, gentlemen, I must say that my election is necessarily due to the old international tradition of courtesy to the country which has the honor to receive the Peace Conference in its capital.

I wish also to say that this testimony of friendship, if they will allow to me the word, on the part of President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George in particular, has touched me deeply, because I see in it a new strength for all three of us to accomplish, with the co-operation of the entire Conference, the arduous work which is entrusted to us. I gather from it a new confidence in the success of our efforts.

President Wilson has special authority to say that this is the first time in fact that the world has ever seen

assembled together a delegation of all the civilized nations of the earth.

The greater the bloody catastrophe which has devastated and ruined one of the richest parts of France, the greater and more splendid must be the reparation—not only the material reparation, the vulgar reparation, if I dare speak so, which is due all of us, but the higher and nobler reparation of the new institution which we will try to establish, in order that nations may at length escape from the fatal embrace of ruinous wars, which destroy everything, heap up ruins, terrorize the populace, and prevent them from going freely about their work for fear of enemies which may rise up from one day to the next.

It is a great, splendid, and noble ambition which has come to all of us. It is desirable that success should crown our efforts. This cannot take place unless we have all firmly fixed and clearly determined ideas on what we wish to do.

I said in the Chamber a few days ago, and I wish to repeat here, that success is not possible unless we remain firmly united. We have come together as friends; we must leave this hall as friends.

That, gentlemen, is the first thought that comes to me. All else must be subordinated to the necessity of a closer and closer union among the nations who have taken part in this great war, and to the necessity of remaining friends. For the League of Nations is here. It is yourself. It is for you to make it live, and to make it live we must have it really in our hearts.

As I told President Wilson a few days ago, there is no sacrifice that I am not willing to make in order to accomplish this, and I do not doubt that you all have the same sentiment. We will make these sacrifices, but on the condition

that we endeavor impartially to conciliate interests apparently contradictory, on the higher plane of a greater, happier, and better humanity.

That, gentlemen, is what I had to say to you. I am touched beyond words at the evidence of good will and friendship which you show me.

The program of this Conference has been laid down by President Wilson. It is no longer the peace of a more or less vast territory; no longer the peace of continents; it is the peace of nations that is to be made. This program is sufficient in itself. There is no superfluous word. Let us act swiftly and well.

TO THE FRENCH SENATE

On January 20 President Wilson was entertained by the president and members of the French Senate. M. Dubost, president, welcomed President Wilson in the following words:

Mr. President: My colleagues and myself thank you for having been so good as to accept our invitation and to give us some hours of your time, which we know to be devoted to the high meditations and the important negotiations upon which the fate of the peoples depends. From your first steps on the land of France and since your entry into Paris the French people have spontaneously given their hearts to you, and they have perceived at once in your frank smile and in your so loyal and open physiognomy that you, too, were spontaneously giving yourself to them.

You are to-day in an old palace of France, and it is among these grand reminders of past times that with thoughts rejuvenated by republican ardor, yet with patriotism, the French Senate shapes a history which already counts fifteen centuries. We welcome here, Mr. President, you and your ideas. Nowhere could your splendid ambition to substitute

for the periodically broken equilibrium of material forces the definite award of moral forces elicit more enthusiasm than in France, and nowhere more than in the Senate; since the statute of international peace has been first of all and for a long time prepared by some of its most eminent members.

Our national problem consists, therefore, in combining our European past and our actual material security with the conditions of the new order for which you have given so noble a formula, because this new order will ever have to lean on some force for which France will, when all is told, stand the most advanced and exposed sentinel. We firmly believe with you, Mr. President, and allow me to add, sincere and great friend, that a new world order and, perhaps, a world harmony are possible, in which our French country will at last be liberated from the nightmare of invasion—our country, for which nearly 1,400,000 men of France have just given their lives.

It is with such a hope that we shall most willingly participate in the sublime crusade which you have come to undertake on the devastated soil of old Europe, where hatred and discord still howl after the guns have become silent, and where anarchy causes a vast part of mankind to stagger. The task is a gigantic one, but it is worthy of your country, accustomed to great undertakings, and of ours, the ancient artisan of Western civilization. Mr. President, we salute your great heart and your high intelligence with a joyful hope and a fervent acclamation.

President Wilson, addressing M. Dubost and President Poincaré, said in reply:

Mr. President of the Senate; Mr. President of the Republic: You have made me feel your welcome in words as generous as they are delightful, and I feel that you have graciously

called me your friend. May I not in turn call this company a company of my friends? For everything that you have so finely said, sir, has been corroborated in every circumstance of our visit to this country. Everywhere we have been welcomed not only, but welcomed in the spirit and with the same thought, until it has seemed as if the spirits of the two countries came together in an unusual and beautiful accord.

We know the long period of peril through which France has gone. France thought us remote in comprehension and sympathy, and I dare say there were times when we did not comprehend, as you comprehended, the danger in the presence of which the world stood. There was no time when we did not know how near it was, and I fully understand, sir, that throughout these trying years, when mankind has waited for the catastrophe, the anxiety of France must have been the deepest and most constant of all, for she did stand at the frontier of freedom. She had carved out her own fortunes through a long period of eager struggle. She had done great things in building up a great, new France. And just across the border, separated from her only by a few fortifications and a little country whose neutrality, it has turned out, the enemy did not respect, lay the shadow cast by the cloud which enveloped Germany, the cloud of intrigue, the cloud of dark purpose, the cloud of sinister design. This shadow lay at the very borders of France.

And yet, it is fine to remember here that for France this was not only a peril, but a challenge. France did not tremble. France quietly and in her own way prepared her sons for the struggle that was coming. She never took the initiative or did a single thing that was aggressive. She had prepared herself for defense, not in order to impose

her will upon other people. She had prepared herself that no other people might impose its will upon her.

As I stand with you, and as I mix with the delightful people of this country, I see this in their thoughts: "America always was our friend. Now she understands. Now she comprehends, and now she has come to bring us this message: that, understanding, she will always be ready to help." And while, as you say, sir, this danger may prove to be a continuing danger, while it is true that France will always be nearest this threat if we cannot turn it from a threat into a promise, there are many elements that ought to reassure France.

There is a new, awakened world. It is not ahead of us, but around us. It knows that its dearest interests are involved in its standing together for a common purpose. It knows that the peril of France, if it continues, will be the peril of the world. It knows that not only France must organize against this peril, but that the world must organize against it.

So I see in these welcomes not only hospitality, not only kindness, not only hope, but a purpose, a definite, clearly defined purpose, that men, understanding one another, must now support one another and that all the sons of freedom are under a common oath to see that freedom never suffers this danger again. That, to my mind, is the impressive element of this welcome. I know how much of it, sir, and I know how little of it, to appropriate to myself.

I know that I have the very distinguished honor to represent a nation whose heart is in this business, and I am proud to speak for the people whom I represent. But I know that you honor me in a representative capacity. I delight in this welcome, therefore, as if I had brought

the people of the United States with me and they could see in your faces what I see in the tokens of welcome and affection.

The sum of the whole matter is that France has earned and has won the brotherhood of the world. She has stood at the chief post of danger, and the thoughts of mankind and her brothers everywhere, her brothers in freedom, turn to her and center upon her. If this be true, as I believe it to be, France is fortunate to have suffered. She is fortunate to have proved her mettle as one of the champions of liberty, and she has tied to herself, once and for all, all those who love freedom and truly believe in the progress and rights of man.

*1. Copy speech
Underline key words
2. Thought groups*

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

President Wilson's address before the Peace Conference on January 25, was as follows:

Mr. Chairman: I consider it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to open the discussion in this Conference on the League of Nations. We have assembled for two purposes: to make the present settlements which have been rendered necessary by this war and also to secure the peace of the world, not only by the present settlements, but by the arrangements we shall make at this Conference for its maintenance.

The League of Nations seems to me to be necessary for both of these purposes. There are many complicated questions connected with the present settlements, which perhaps cannot be successfully worked out to an ultimate issue by the decisions we shall arrive at here. I can easily conceive that many of these settlements will need subsequent consideration; that many of the decisions we make shall need subsequent alteration in some degree, for, if I may

judge by my own study of some of these questions, they are not susceptible of confident judgments at present.

It is therefore necessary that we should set up some machinery by which the work of this Conference should be rendered complete.

We have assembled here for the purpose of doing very much more than making the present settlements that are necessary. We are assembled under very peculiar conditions of world opinion. // I may say, without straining the point, that we are not the representatives of governments, but representatives of the peoples. //

It will not suffice to satisfy governmental circles anywhere. It is necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind.

The burdens of this war have fallen in an unusual degree upon the whole population of the countries involved. I do not need to draw for you the picture of how the burden has been thrown back from the front upon the older men, upon the women, upon the children, upon the homes of the civilized world, and how the real strain of the war has come where the eyes of the government could not reach, but where the heart of humanity beats.

We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure. We are bidden by these people to see to it that this strain does not come upon them again. And I venture to say that it has been possible for them to bear this strain because they hoped that those who represented them could get together after this war and make such another sacrifice unnecessary.

It is a solemn obligation on our part, therefore, to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained.

This is the central object of our meeting. Settlements

may be temporary, but the action of the nations in the interest of peace and justice must be permanent. We can set up permanent processes. We may not be able to set up a permanent decision.

Therefore it seems to me that we must take as far as we can a picture of the world into our minds. Is it not a startling circumstance, for one thing, that the great discoveries of science, that the quiet studies of men in laboratories, that the thoughtful developments which have taken place in quiet lecture rooms, have now been turned to the destruction of civilization? The powers of destruction have not so much multiplied as they have gained facilities.

The enemy, whom we have just overcome, had at his seats of learning some of the principal centers of scientific study and discovery, and he used them in order to make destruction sudden and complete. And only the watchful, and continuous coöperation of men can see to it that science, as well as armed men, is kept within the harness of civilization.

In a sense the United States is less interested in this subject than the other nations here assembled. With her great territory and her extensive sea borders, it is less likely that the United States should suffer from the attack of enemies than that other nations should suffer. And the ardor of the United States—for it is a very deep and genuine ardor—for the society of nations is not an ardor springing out of fear or apprehension, but an ardor springing out of the ideals which have come in the consciousness of this war.

In coming into this war the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe, or the politics of Asia, or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had

now become conscious that there was a single cause of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place.

Therefore the United States should feel that its part in this war should be played in vain if there ensued upon it abortive European settlements. It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless that guaranty involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

Therefore it seems to me that we must contribute our best judgment in order to make this League of Nations a vital thing—a thing sometimes called into life to meet an exigency, but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interests of the nations—and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that its functions are continuing functions that do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations, to keep watch upon the common interest—an eye that did not slumber, an eye that was everywhere watchful and attentive.

And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations of the peoples. This is what their thought centers upon.

I have had the very delightful experience of visiting several nations since I came to this side of the water, and every time the voice of the body of the people reached me, through any representative, at the front of the plea stood the hope of the League of Nations.

Gentlemen, the select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them, and you have ^{not only} justified their confidence not only, but have established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and

no arrangement that you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world.

You can imagine, I dare say, the sentiments and the purpose with which the representatives of the United States support this great project for a League of Nations. We regard it as the keynote of the whole, which expressed our purposes and ideals in this war, and which the associated nations have accepted as the basis of a settlement.

If we return to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow citizens. For they are a body that constitutes a great democracy. They expect their leaders to speak; their representatives to be their servants.

We have no choice but to obey their mandate. But it is with the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure that we accept that mandate. And because this is the keynote of the whole fabric, we have pledged our every purpose to it, as we have to every item of the fabric. We would not dare abate a single item of the program which constitutes our instructions; we would not dare to compromise upon any matter as the champion of this thing—this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no peoples, but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish, but as they wish.

We are here to see, in short, that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of a small coterie of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great powers upon the small. Those foundations were the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms. Those foundations were the power of

small bodies of men to ~~wield~~ ^{WORK} their will and use mankind as pawns in a game. And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

You can see that the representatives of the United States are, therefore, never put to the embarrassment of choosing a way of expediency, because they have had laid down before them the unalterable lines of principles. And, thank God, these lines have been accepted as the lines of settlements by all the high-minded men who have had to do with the beginning of this great business.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, when it is known, as I feel confident it will be known, that we have adopted the principle of the League of Nations and mean to work out that principle in effective action, we shall by that single thing have lifted a great part of the load of anxiety from the hearts of men everywhere.

We stand in a peculiar ~~cause~~ ^{CASE}. As I go about the streets here I see everywhere the American uniform. Those men came into the war after ~~we~~ ^{they} had uttered our purpose. They came as crusaders, not merely to win a war, but to win a cause. And I am responsible to them, for it falls to me to formulate the purpose for which I asked them to fight, and I, like them, must be a crusader for these things, whatever it costs and whatever it may be necessary to do in honor to accomplish the object for which they fought.

I have been glad to find from day to day that there is no question of our standing alone in this matter, for there are champions of this cause upon every hand. I am merely avowing this in order that you may understand why, perhaps, it fell to us, who are disengaged from the politics of this great continent and of the Orient, to suggest that this was the keystone of the arch, and why it occurred to the generous mind of your President to call upon me to

open this debate. It is not because we alone represent this idea, but because it is our privilege to associate ourselves with you in representing it.

I have only tried in what I have said to give you the fountains of the enthusiasm which is within us for this thing, for those fountains spring, it seems to me, from all the ancient wrongs and sympathies of mankind, and the very pulse of the world seems to beat to the ~~fullest~~ ^{SURFACE} in this enterprise.

TO THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

In the presence of President Poincaré, Premier Clemenceau, M. Dubost, president of the Senate, M. Paul Deschanel, president of the Chamber of Deputies, all the members of both Houses, and a brilliant company that packed the Chamber literally to the roof, President Wilson, on February 3, made an important and significant speech to the French legislature in joint session, in which he assured his auditors of the practical realization of the prime object which took him to Europe—the establishment of the League of Nations—and returned “the loving kiss of France” with a pledge of future security, not only for France, but for the world.

M. Paul Deschanel welcomed President Wilson in the following eloquent speech:

The representatives of France are happy in offering you a respectful and affectionate welcome. Your visit evokes in our souls the memory of another memorable sojourn here—that of Benjamin Franklin on the eve of the French Revolution.

What France acclaims in you is not only that you are the chief of a free democracy, a descendant of those admirable founders of the American Republic who brought across the ocean all the flower and fruit of experience in Anglo-Saxon politics, successor of Washington and Lincoln, but that you are a great citizen, who on that day when duty

appeared to him followed the will of his nation and threw the entire force of the New World into the service of right. It is the high conscience, which, imbued with the purest maxims of morality, is trying to make them penetrate into the governments of men and into the relations of peoples between themselves.

You wish that out of so much sorrow should come more justice. As this war was unlike any preceding war, so must this peace be unlike any preceding peace. Guaranties must be taken against the recurrence of the horrible things which have been an opprobrium to the world and which no one has stigmatized with more force than you; territorial, military, economic, and financial guaranties to protect the victims of German ambition against perpetual alarms, guaranties for free peoples, with efficacious sanctions to punish the crimes against the peace of the world first; then to prevent them.

In your eyes, as in ours, doubtless, the primordial condition of the foundation itself of this New World organization is a France definitely made proof against provocations and attacks. We, who during forty-four years have made the greatest sacrifices in order to maintain peace, know from the experience of centuries that the universe will never breathe freely so long as Germans can accumulate at our very doors the means* of aggression.

We will forget nothing, neither the bravery of your splendid youths, who shed their blood with ours, as one hundred and forty years ago, nor the victory of General Pershing at St. Mihiel, nor the inexhaustible and exquisite charity of your women, nor your noble figure. We find blended together all the principles of that great American civilization, made up of practical and enterprising genius, of wisdom, and idealism.

Nothing will separate us. France loves your glorious country as a sister.

Mr. President of the United States, we, with the President of France, request you to bring to America the loving kiss of France.

President Wilson replied in the following words, spoken with marked gravity and emotion:

I am keenly aware of the unusual and distinguished honor you are paying me by permitting me to meet you in this place and address you from this historic platform.

Indeed, sir, as day has followed day and week has followed week in this hospitable land of France, I have felt the sense of comradeship ever become more and more intimate, and it has seemed to me that the making of history was becoming singularly clear.

We knew before the war began that France and America were united in affection. We knew the occasions which drew the two nations together in those years, which now seem so far away, when the world was first beginning to thrill with the impulse of human liberty, when the soldiers of France came to help the struggling little Republic of America to get on its feet and proclaim one of the first victories of freedom.

We had never forgotten that, but we did not see the full meaning of it. A hundred years and more went by, and the spindles were slowly weaving the web of history. We did not see it to be complete, the whole of the design to be made plain.

Now look at what has happened. In that far-off day when France came to the assistance of America, America was fighting Great Britain. And now she is linked as closely to Great Britain as she is to France. We see now how these apparently diverging lines of history are coming

together. The nations which once stood in battle array against one another are now, shoulder to shoulder, fighting a common enemy.

It was a long time before we saw that, and in the last four years something has happened that is unprecedented in the history of mankind. It is nothing less than this—that bodies of men on both sides of the sea and in all parts of the world have come to realize their comradeship in freedom.

France, in the meantime, as we have so often said, stood at the frontier of freedom. Her lines lay along the very lines that divided the home of freedom from the home of military despotism. Hers was the immediate peril. Hers was the constant dread. Hers was the most pressing necessity of preparation, and she had constantly to ask herself this question, "If the blow falls, who will come to our assistance?"

And the question was answered in the most unexpected way. Her allies came to her assistance, but many more than her allies. The free people of the world came to her assistance.

And in this way America paid her debt of gratitude to France by sending her sons to fight upon the soil of France. She did more. She assisted in drawing the forces of the world together in order that France might never again feel her isolation; in order that France might never feel that hers was a lonely peril and would never again have to ask the question who would come to her assistance.

For the alternative is a terrible alternative for France. I do not need to point out to you that east of you in Europe the future is full of question. Beyond the Rhine, across Germany, across Poland, across Russia, across Asia, there are questions unanswered, and they may be for the present unanswerable.

France still stands at the frontier. France still stands in the presence of those threatening and unanswered questions—threatening because unanswered; stands waiting for the solution of matters which touch her directly and intimately and constantly. And if she must stand alone, what must she do? She must put upon her people a constant burden of taxation. She must undergo sacrifice that may become intolerable.

And not only she but the other nations of the world must do the like. They must be ready for any terrible incident of injustice. The thing is not inconceivable.

I visited the other day a portion of the devastated region of France. I saw the noble city of Rheims in ruins, and I could not help saying to myself: "Here is where the blow fell because the rulers of the world did not sooner see how to prevent it."

The rulers of the world have been thinking of the relations of governments and forgetting the relations of peoples. They have been thinking of the manœuvres of international dealings, when what they ought to have been thinking of was the fortunes of men and women and the safety of home and the care that they should take that their people should be happy because they were safe.

They know that the only way to do this is to make it certain that the same thing will not always happen that has happened this time, that there never shall be any doubt or waiting or surmise, but that whenever France or any free people is threatened the whole world will be ready to vindicate its liberty.

It is for that reason, I take it, that I find such a warm and intelligent enthusiasm in France for the society of nations—France with her keen vision, France with her prophetic vision.

It seems to be not only the need of France, but the need of mankind, and France sees that the sacrifices which are necessary for the establishment of the society of nations are not to be compared with the constant dread of another catastrophe falling on the fair cities and areas of France.

There was a no more beautiful country. There was a no more prosperous country. There was a no more free-spirited people. All the world had admired France, and none of the world grudged France her greatness and her prosperity except those who grudged her liberty and prosperity. And it has profited us, terrible as the cost has been, to witness what has happened, to see with the physical eye what has happened, because injustice was wrought.

The President of the Chamber has pictured, as I cannot picture, the appalling suffering, the terrible tragedy, of France, but it is a tragedy which could not be repeated. As the pattern of history has disclosed itself it has disclosed the hearts of men drawing toward one another. Comradeships have become vivid. The purpose of association has become evident.

The nations of the world are about to consummate a brotherhood which will make it unnecessary in the future to maintain those crushing armaments which make the peoples suffer almost as much in peace as they suffer in war.

When the soldiers of America crossed the ocean, they did not bring with them merely their arms. They brought with them a very vivid conception of France. They landed upon the soil of France with quickened pulses. They knew that they had come to do a thing which the heart of America had long wished to do. When General Pershing stood at the tomb of Lafayette and said, "Lafayette, we are here!" it was as if he had said, "Lafayette, here is the completion of the great story whose first chapter you assisted to write."

The world has seen the great plot worked out, and now the people of France may rest assured that their prosperity is secure because their homes are secure; and men everywhere not only wish her safety and prosperity, but are ready to assure her that with all the force and wealth at their command they will guarantee her security and safety.

So, as we sit from day to day at the Quai d'Orsay I think to myself that we might, if we could gain an audience of the free peoples of the world, adopt the language of General Pershing and say, "Friends, men, humble women, little children, we are here. We are here as your friends, as your champions, as your representatives. We have come to work out for you a world which is fit to live in and in which all countries can enjoy the heritage of liberty for which France and America and England and Italy have paid so dear."

A RETURN VISIT PROMISED

In reply to a delegation of the French Association of the Society of Nations, which called upon him on February 13, President Wilson made known formally for the first time his intention to return to France after going to Washington for the closing session of Congress.

I appreciate very deeply what has been said, and I take it that the kind suggestion is that some time after my return we should arrange a public meeting, at which, I am quite confident, we may celebrate the completion of the work, at any rate up to a certain very far advanced stage, the consummation of which we have been working and hoping for for a long time.

It would be a very happy thing if that could be arranged. I can only say for myself that I sincerely hope it can be. I should wish to lend any assistance possible to so happy a consummation.

I cannot help thinking of how many miracles this war has already wrought—miracles of comprehension as to our

interdependence as nations and as human beings, miracles as to the removal of obstacles which seemed big, and now have grown small, in the way of active and organized coöperation of nations in regard to the establishment and maintenance of justice.

And the thoughts of the people having been drawn together, there has already been created a force which is not only very great but very formidable—a force which can be rapidly mobilized, a force which is very effective when mobilized, namely, the moral force of the world.

One advantage in seeing one another and talking with one another is to find that, after all, we all think the same way. We may try to put the result of the thing into different forms, but we start with the same principles.

I have often been thought of as a man more interested in principles than in practice, whereas, as a matter of fact, I can say that, in one sense, principles have never interested me, because principles prove themselves when stated. They do not need any debate. The thing that is difficult and interesting is how to put them into practice. Large discourse is not possible on the principles, but large discourse is necessary on the matter of realizing them.

So that, after all, principles, until translated into practice, are very thin and abstract and, I may add, uninteresting things. It is not interesting to have far-away vision, but it is interesting to have near-by visions of what it is possible to accomplish. And in a meeting such as you are projecting perhaps we can record the success that we shall have then achieved of putting a great principle into practice, and demonstrated that it can be put into practice, though only, let us say, five years ago it was considered an impractical dream.

I will coöperate with great happiness in the plan that you may form after my return, and I thank you very warmly for the compliment of this personal visit.

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE
OF NATIONS

Tennyson's dream of eighty years ago, of the time when

....the war-drums throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world,

came appreciably nearer to realization at the meeting of the Peace Congress on Friday, February 14—St. Valentine's Day—when President Wilson read a draft of the Constitution of the proposed League of Nations. The President prefaced the reading of the historic document by the following address:

Mr. Chairman: I have the honor, and assume it a very great privilege, of reporting in the name of the Commission constituted by this Conference on the formulation of a plan for the League of Nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia.

I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document as the only report we have to make.

President Wilson then read the draft. When he reached Article XV and had read through the second paragraph the President paused and said:

I pause to point out that a misconception might arise in connection with one of the sentences I have just read—"if any party shall refuse to comply, the Council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations."

A case in point, a purely hypothetical case, is this: Suppose there is in the possession of a particular power a piece

of territory, or some other substantial thing, in dispute, to which it is claimed that it is not entitled. Suppose that the matter is submitted to the Executive Council for recommendation as to the settlement of the dispute, diplomacy having failed, and suppose that the decision is in favor of the party which claims the subject matter of dispute, as against the party which has the subject matter in dispute.

Then, if the party in possession of the subject matter in dispute merely sits still and does nothing, it has accepted the decision of the Council, in the sense that it makes no resistance, but something must be done to see that it surrenders the subject matter in dispute.

In such a case, the only case contemplated, it is provided that the Executive Council may then consider what steps will be necessary to oblige the party against whom judgment has been given to comply with the decisions of the Council.

After having read Article XIX, President Wilson again stopped and said:

Let me say that before being embodied in this document this was the subject matter of a very careful discussion by representatives of the five greater parties, and that their unanimous conclusion is the matter embodied in this article.

After having read the entire document, President Wilson continued as follows:

It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the Commission was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgment with regard to the method

by which our objects should be obtained, there was practically at no point any serious difference of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking.

Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiments, I think the other members of the Commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and of enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do, which was heartening throughout every meeting.

Because we felt that in a way this Conference did intrust to us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty, that the coöperation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms of honor and of international obligations, the compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously.

Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those powers which for convenience we have called the great powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, has the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which, I dare say, no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you

will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for a League of Nations—a body of delegates, an executive council, and a permanent secretariat.

When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the body of delegates, we are aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world.

Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the League of Nations was merely to be a body of officials representing the various governments, the people of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes, which preoccupied officials had admittedly made, might not be repeated.

It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent as we sit around this table more than twelve hundred million people.

You cannot have a representative assembly of twelve hundred million people, but if you leave it to each government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time not only, but it may [originate] the choice of its several representatives. [Wireless here unintelligible.]

Therefore, we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation, instead of being confined

to a single official body with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy.

And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations—and that it is especially agreed that war or international misunderstandings or anything that may lead to friction or trouble is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world.

And, in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body, it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted, it is not to arbitration, but to discussion by the Executive Council; it can, upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the Executive Council on the larger form of the general body of delegates, because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity, so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

Armed force is in the background in this program, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league for war.

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which this

league would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a strait-jacket, but a vehicle of life.

A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite. It is a definite guaranty of peace. It is a definite guaranty by word against aggression. It is a definite guaranty against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin.

Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared, and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for coöperation in any international matter.

That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the Bureau of Labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League. Men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages, and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the manœuvres of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and of finance.

Now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not—people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined governments of the world. This is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement valid which it has not registered with the Secretary-General, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the Secretary-General to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time.

I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately. How uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately, but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the Secretary-General to publish them.

Then there is a feature about this covenant which, to my mind, is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that have been made. We are done with annexations of helpless peoples, meant in some instances by some powers to be used merely for exploitation.

We recognize in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interests, and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of these peoples shall look to their interests and their development before they look to the interests and desires of the mandatory nation itself.

There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world, you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the great power which has just been, happily, defeated put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself, that its interest was rather their extermination than their development, that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes, and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

Now, the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that, that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical,

and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate, and I want to say that, so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great states represented here—so far as I know, all of the great states that are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies, whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization.

We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise.

I think it is an admission, therefore, for the most profound satisfaction that this humane decision should have been reached in a matter for which the world has long been waiting and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope.

Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of the majority of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is

cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying: "We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of friendship."

[The complete text of the Constitution of the League of Nations will be found in the Appendix.]

AU REVOIR

In a farewell message to the French people before leaving Brest on February 15, President Wilson said:

I cannot leave France without expressing my profound sense of the great hospitality of the French people and the French government. They have received and treated me as I most desired to be treated, as a friend, a friend alike in spirit and in purpose. I am happy to say that I am to return to assist with all my heart in completing the just settlements which the Peace Conference is seeking, and I shall carry with me during my absence very happy memories of the two months I have spent here.

I have been privileged to see here at first hand what my sympathies have already conceived—the sufferings and problems of France—and every day has deepened my interest in the solution of the grave questions upon whose proper solution the future prosperity of France and her associates and the whole world depends. May I not leave my warm and affectionate farewell greetings.

HOME AGAIN

AT BOSTON

On February 25, President Wilson arrived at Boston on the "George Washington" and was met by Governor Coolidge, Mayor Peters, and a group of distinguished citizens.

In the afternoon the President went to Mechanics' Hall, which was densely packed, and, after receiving an official welcome from the governor and the mayor, spoke as follows:

Governor Coolidge, Mr. Mayor, Fellow Citizens: I wonder if you are half as glad to see me as I am to see you. It warms my heart to see a great body of my fellow citizens again, because in some respects during the recent months I have been very lonely indeed without your comradeship and counsel, and I tried at every step of the work which fell to me to recall what I was sure would be your counsel with regard to the great matters which were under consideration.

I do not want you to think that I have not been appreciative of the extraordinarily generous reception which was given to me on the other side in saying that it makes me very happy to get home again. I do not mean to say that I was not very deeply touched by the cries that came from the great crowds on the other side, but I want to say to you in all honesty that I felt them to be a call of greeting to you rather than to me.

I did not feel that the greeting was personal. I had in my heart the overcrowing pride of being your representative, and of receiving the plaudits of men everywhere who felt that your hearts beat with theirs in the cause of liberty. There was no mistaking the tone in the voices of those great crowds. It was not a tone of mere greeting, it was not a

tone of mere generous welcome; it was the calling of comrade to comrade; the cries that come from men who say, "We have waited for this day when the friends of liberty should come across the sea and shake hands with us, to see that a new world was constructed upon a new basis and foundation of justice and right."

I can't tell you the inspiration that came from the sentiments that come out of those simple voices of the crowd, and the proudest thing I have to report to you is that this great country of ours is trusted throughout the world.

I have not come to report the proceedings or the results of the proceedings of the Peace Conference. That would be premature. I can say that I have received very happy impressions from this Conference, the impression that while there are many differences of judgment, while there are some divergencies of object, there is, nevertheless, a common spirit and a common realization of the necessity of setting up new standards of right in the world, because the men who are in conference in Paris realize, as keenly as any American can realize, that they are not the masters of their people; that they are the servants of their people and that the spirit of their people has awakened to a new purpose, and a new conception of their power to realize that purpose, and that no man dare go home from that Conference and report anything less noble than was expected of it.

The Conference seems to you to go slowly. From day to day in Paris it seems to go slowly; but I wonder if you realize the complexity of the task which it has undertaken. It seems as if the settlements of this war affect, and affect directly, every great, and I sometimes think every small, nation in the world, and no one decision can prudently be made which is not properly linked in with the great series

of other decisions which must accompany it, and it must be reckoned in with the final result if the real quality and character of that result are to be properly judged.

What we are doing is to hear the whole case; hear it from the mouths of the men most interested; hear it from those who are officially commissioned to state it; hear the rival claims; hear the claims that affect new nationalities, that affect new areas of the world, that affect new commercial and economic connections that have been established by the great world war through which we have gone, and I have been struck by the moderateness of those who have represented national claims.

I can testify that I have nowhere seen the gleam of passion. I have seen earnestness, I have seen tears come to the eyes of men who pled for downtrodden people whom they were privileged to speak for; but they were not the tears of anger, they were the tears of ardent hope. And I don't see how any man can fail to have been subdued by these pleas; subdued to this feeling, that he was not there to assert an individual judgment of his own, but to try to assist the cause of humanity.

And in the midst of it all every interest seeks out first of all, when it reaches Paris, the representatives of the United States. Why? Because—and I think I am stating the most wonderful fact in history—because there is no nation in Europe that suspects the motives of the United States.

Was there ever so wonderful a thing seen before? Was there ever so moving a thing? Was there ever any fact that so bound the nation that had won that esteem forever to deserve it?

I would not have you understand that the great men who represent the other nations there in conference are

disesteemed by those who know them. Quite the contrary. But you understand that the nations of Europe have again and again clashed with one another in competitive interest. It is impossible for men to forget those sharp issues that were drawn between them in times past. It is impossible for men to believe that all ambitions have all of a sudden been foregone. They remember territory that was coveted; they remember rights that it was attempted to extort; they remember political ambitions which it was attempted to realize—and, while they believe that men have come into a different temper, they cannot forget these things, and so they do not resort to one another for a dispassionate view of the matters in controversy. They resort to that nation which has won the enviable distinction of being regarded as the friend of mankind.

Whenever it is desired to send a small force of soldiers to occupy a piece of territory where it is thought nobody else will be welcome, they ask for American soldiers, and where other soldiers would be looked upon with suspicion and perhaps met with resistance, the American soldier is welcomed with acclaim.

I have had so many grounds for pride on the other side of the water that I am very thankful that they are not grounds for personal pride, but for national pride. If they were grounds for personal pride, I'd be the most stuck-up man in the world. And it has been an infinite pleasure to me to see those gallant soldiers of ours, of whom the Constitution of the United States made me the proud Commander. You may be proud of the Twenty-sixth Division, but I commanded the Twenty-sixth Division, and see what they did under my direction! And everybody praises the American soldier with the feeling that in praising him he is subtracting from the credit of no one else.

I have been searching for the fundamental fact that converted Europe to believe in us. Before this war, Europe did not believe in us as she does now. She did not believe in us throughout the first three years of the war. She seems really to have believed that we were holding off because we thought we could make more by staying out than by going in, and all of a sudden, in a short eighteen months, the whole verdict is reversed. There can be but one explanation for it. They saw what we did—that without making a single claim we put all our men and all our means at the disposal of those who were fighting for their homes, in the first instance, but for a cause, the cause of human rights and justice, and that we went in, not to support their national claims, but to support the great cause which they held in common. And when they saw that America not only held ideals, but acted ideals, they were converted to America and became firm partisans of those ideals.

I met a group of scholars when I was in Paris—some gentlemen from one of the Greek universities who had come to see me, and in whose presence, or rather in the presence of whose traditions of learning, I felt very young indeed. I told them I had one of the delightful revenges that sometimes comes to a man. All my life I had heard men speak with a sort of condescension of ideals and of idealists, and particularly those separated, encloistered persons whom they choose to term academic, who were in the habit of uttering ideals in the free atmosphere when they clash with nobody in particular.

And I said I have had this sweet revenge. Speaking with perfect frankness in the name of the people of the United States, I have uttered, as the objects of this great war, ideals, and nothing but ideals, and the war has been

won by that inspiration. Men were fighting with tense muscle and lowered heads until they came to realize those things, feeling they were fighting for their lives and their country, and when these accents of what it was all about reached them from America, they lifted their heads, they raised their eyes to heaven, when they saw men in khaki coming across the sea in the spirit of crusaders, and they found that these were strange men, reckless of danger not only, but reckless because they seemed to see something that made that danger worth while.

Men have testified to me in Europe that our men were possessed by something that they could only call a religious fervor. They were not like any of the other soldiers. They had a vision. They had a dream, and they were fighting in the dream; and, fighting in the dream, they turned the whole tide of battle, and it never came back.

One of our American humorists, meeting the criticism that American soldiers were not trained long enough, said: "It takes only half as long to train an American soldier as any other, because you only have to train him to go one way." And he did only go one way, and he never came back until he could do it when he pleased.

And now do you realize that this confidence we have established throughout the world imposes a burden upon us—if you choose to call it a burden? It is one of those burdens which any nation ought to be proud to carry. Any man who resists the present tides that run in the world will find himself thrown upon a shore so high and barren that it will seem as if he had been separated from his human kind forever.

The Europe that I left the other day was full of something that it had never felt fill the heart so full before. It was full of hope. The Europe of the second year of the

war, the Europe of the third year of the war, was sinking to a sort of stubborn desperation. They did not see any great thing to be achieved even when the war should be won. They hoped there would be some salvage. They hoped that they could clear their territories of invading armies; they hoped they could set up their homes and start their industries afresh, but they thought it would simply be the resumption of the old life that Europe had led—led in fear, led in anxiety, led in constant suspicious watchfulness. They never dreamed that it would be a Europe of settled peace and of justified hope.

And now these ideals have wrought this new magic, that all the peoples of Europe are buoyed up and confident in the spirit of hope, because they believe that we are at the eve of a new age in the world when nations will understand one another, when nations will support one another in every just cause, when nations will unite every moral and every physical strength to see that the right shall prevail.

If America were at this juncture to fail the world, what would come of it? I do not mean any disrespect to any other great people when I say that America is the hope of the world, and if she does not justify that hope the results are unthinkable. Men will be thrown back upon the bitterness of disappointment not only, but the bitterness of despair.

All nations will be set up as hostile camps again; the men at the Peace Conference will go home with their heads upon their breasts, knowing that they have failed—for they were bidden not to come home from there until they did something more than sign a treaty of peace.

Suppose we sign the treaty of peace, and that it is the most satisfactory treaty of peace that the confusing elements

of the modern world will afford, and go home and think about our labors. We will know that we have left written upon the historic table at Versailles, upon which Vergennes and Benjamin Franklin wrote their names, nothing but a modern scrap of paper; no nations united to defend it, no great forces combined to make it good, no assurance given to the downtrodden and fearful people of the world that they shall be safe. Any man who thinks that America will take part in giving the world any such rebuff and disappointment as that does not know America.

I invite him to test the sentiments of the nation. We set this nation up to make men free and we did not confine our conception and purpose to America, and now we will make men free. If we did not do that, all the fame of America would be gone and all her power would be dissipated. She would then have to keep her honor for those narrow, selfish, provincial purposes which seem so dear to some minds that have no sweep beyond the nearest horizon. I should welcome no sweeter challenge than that. I have fighting blood in me, and it is sometimes a delight to let it have scope, but if it is a challenge on this occasion it will be an indulgence. Think of the picture, think of the utter blackness that would fall on the world. America has failed! America made a little essay at generosity and then withdrew! America said, "We are your friends," but it was only for today, not for tomorrow! America said, "Here is our power to vindicate right," and then the next day said, "Let right take care of itself and we will take care of ourselves." America said, "We set up a light to lead men along the paths of liberty, but we have lowered it; it is intended only to light our own path." We set up a great ideal of liberty and then we said, "Liberty is a thing that you must win for yourself. Do not call upon us," and

think of the world that we would leave. Do you realize how many nations are going to be set up in the presence of old and powerful nations in Europe and left there, if left by us, without a disinterested friend?

Do you believe in the Polish cause, as I do? Are you going to set up Poland, immature, inexperienced, as yet unorganized, and leave her with a circle of armies around her? Do you believe in the aspirations of the Czechoslovaks and the Jugo-Slavs, as I do? Do you know how many powers would be quick to pounce upon them if there were not the guaranty of the world behind their liberty?

Have you thought of the sufferings of Armenia? You poured out your money to help succor the Armenians after they suffered; now set up your strength so that they shall never suffer again.

The arrangements of the present peace cannot stand a generation unless they are guaranteed by the united forces of the civilized world. And if we do not guarantee them, can you not see the picture? Your hearts have instructed you where the burden of this war fell. It did not fall upon the national treasuries; it did not fall upon the instruments of administration; it did not fall upon the resources of the nations. It fell upon the voiceless homes everywhere where women were toiling in hope that their men would come back.

When I think of the homes upon which dull despair would settle if this great hope is disappointed, I should wish, for my part, never to have had America play any part whatever in this attempt to emancipate the world. But I talk as if there were any question. I have no more doubt of the verdict of America in this matter than I have doubt of the blood that is in me.

And so, my fellow citizens, I have come back to report progress, and I do not believe that the progress is going to stop short of the goal. The nations of the world have set their heads now to do a great thing, and they are not going to slacken their purpose. And when I speak of the nations of the world, I do not speak of the governments of the world. I speak of the peoples who constitute the nations of the world. They are in the saddle, and they are going to see to it that if their present governments do not do their will, some other governments shall. And the secret is out and the present governments know it.

There is a great deal of harmony to be got out of common knowledge. There is a great deal of sympathy to be got out of living in the same atmosphere, and except for the differences of languages, which puzzled my American ear very sadly, I could have believed I was at home in France, or in Italy, or in England when I was on the streets, when I was in the presence of the crowds, when I was in great halls, where men were gathered together irrespective of class. I did not feel quite as much at home there as I do here, but I felt that now, at any rate, after this storm of war had cleared the air, men were seeing eye to eye everywhere and that these were the kind of folks who would understand what the kind of folks at home would understand and that they were thinking the same things.

My feelings about you remind me of a story by that excellent wit and good artist, Oliver Herford, who one day, sitting at luncheon at his club, was slapped vigorously on the back by a man whom he did not know very well. He said: "Oliver, old boy, how are you?" He looked at him rather coldly. He said: "I don't know your name; I don't know your face, but your manners are very familiar."

And I must say that your manners are very familiar, and let me add, very delightful.

It is a great comfort, for one thing, to realize that you all understand the language I am speaking. A friend of mine said that to talk through an interpreter was like witnessing the compound fracture of an idea. But the beauty of it is that, whatever the impediments of the channel of communication, the idea is the same, that it gets registered, and it gets registered in responsive hearts and receptive purposes.

I have come back for a strenuous attempt to transact business for a little while in America, but I have really come back to say to you, in all soberness and honesty, that I have been trying my best to speak your thoughts.

When I sample myself, I think I find that I am a typical American, and if I sample deep enough, and get down to what is probably the true stuff of a man, then I have hope that it is part of the stuff that is like the other fellows at home.

And, therefore, probing deep in my heart and trying to see the things that are right without regard to the things that may be debated as expedient, I feel that I am interpreting the purpose and the thought of America; and in loving America I find I have joined the great majority of my fellow men throughout the world.

AT NEW YORK

On the evening of March 4 President Wilson spoke in the Metropolitan Opera House to a throng which filled that spacious auditorium to overflowing.

Former President Taft spoke just before the President made his address, explaining the principles of the League and answering its critics. The two speakers received an ovation from the audience. Signor Caruso sang a verse of "The Star-Spangled Banner" before the speaking began.

After the meeting the President went direct to the "George Washington" and sailed for France early the next morning.

My Fellow Citizens: I accept the intimation of the air just played; I will not come back "till it's over, over there." And yet, I pray God, in the interest of peace and of the world, that that may be soon.

The first thing that I am going to tell the people on the other side of the water is that an overwhelming majority of the American people is in favor of the League of Nations. I know that that is true. I have had unmistakable intimations of it from all parts of the country, and the voice rings true in every case.

I count myself fortunate to speak here under the unusual circumstances of this evening. I am happy to associate myself with Mr. Taft in this great cause. He has displayed an elevation of view and a devotion to public duty which is beyond praise.

And I am the more happy because this means that this is not a party issue. No party has the right to appropriate this issue, and no party will, in the long run, dare oppose it.

We have listened to so clear and admirable an exposition of many of the main features of the proposed covenant of the League of Nations that it is perhaps not necessary for

me to discuss in any particular way the contents of the document. I will seek rather to give you its setting.

I do not know when I have been more impressed than by the conferences of the commission set up by the Conference of Peace to draw up a covenant for the League of Nations. The representatives of fourteen nations sat around that board—not young men, not men inexperienced in the affairs of their own countries, not men inexperienced in the politics of the world—and the inspiring influence of any meeting was the concurrence of purpose on the part of all those men to come to an agreement, and an effective working agreement, with regard to this league of the civilized world.

There was a conviction in the whole impulse; there was conviction of more than one sort, there was the conviction that this thing ought to be done, and there was also the conviction that not a man there would venture to go home and say that he had not tried to do it.

Mr. Taft has set the picture for you of what a failure of this great purpose would mean. We have been hearing for all these weary months that this agony of war has lasted because of the sinister purpose of the Central Empires, and we have made maps of the course that they meant their conquests to take. Where did the lines of that map lie, of that central line that we used to call from Bremen to Bagdad?

They lay through these very regions to which Mr. Taft has called your attention, but they lay then through united empire—through the Austro-Hungarian Empire, whose integrity Germany was bound to respect as her ally—lay in the path of that line of conquest. The Turkish Empire, whose interests she professed to make her own, lay in the direct path that she intended to tread.

And now what has happened? The Austro-Hungarian Empire has gone to pieces, and the Turkish Empire has disappeared, and the nations that effected that great result—for it was a result of liberation—are now responsible as the trustees of the assets of those great nations.

You not only would have weak nations lying in this path, but you would have nations in which that old poisonous seed of intrigue could be planted with the certainty that the crop would be abundant, and one of the things that the League of Nations is intended to watch is the course of intrigue.

Intrigue cannot stand publicity, and if the League of Nations were nothing but a great debating society, it would kill intrigue.

It is one of the agreements of this covenant that it is the friendly right of every nation a member of the League to call attention to anything that it thinks will disturb the peace of the world, no matter where that thing is occurring.

There is no subject that may touch the peace of the world which is exempt from inquiry and discussion, and I think everybody here present will agree with me that Germany would never have gone to war if she had permitted the world to discuss the aggression upon Serbia for a single week.

The British Foreign Office suggested, it pleaded, that there might be a day or two delay so that the representatives of the nations of Europe could get together and discuss the possibilities of a settlement. Germany did not dare permit a day's discussion. You know what happened. So soon as the world realized that an outlaw was at large these nations began one by one to draw together against her.

We know for a certainty that if Germany had thought

for a moment that Great Britain would go in with France and with Russia she never would have undertaken the enterprise. And the League of Nations is meant as a notice to all outlaw nations that not only Great Britain, but the United States and the rest of the world, will go in to stop enterprises of that sort.

And so the League of Nations is nothing more nor less than the covenant that the world will always maintain the standards which it has now vindicated by some of the most precious blood ever spilled.

The liberated peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of the Turkish Empire call out to us for this thing. It has not arisen in the council of statesmen. Europe is a bit sick at heart at this very moment because it sees that statesmen have had no vision and that the only vision has been the vision of the people. Those who suffer see. Those against whom wrong is wrought know how desirable is the right and the righteous.

The nations that have long been under the heel of the Austrian, that have long cowered before the German, that have long suffered the indescribable agonies of being governed by the Turk, have called out to the world, generation after generation, for justice, for liberation, for succor; and no cabinet in the world has heard them.

Private organizations, pitying hearts, philanthropic men and women, have poured out their treasure in order to relieve these sufferings, but no nation has said to the nations responsible: "You must stop; this thing is intolerable, and we will not permit," and the vision has been with the people.

My friends, I wish you would reflect upon this proposition. The vision as to what is necessary for great reforms has seldom come from the top in the nations of the world.

It has come from the need and the aspiration and the self-assertion of great bodies of men who meant to be free, and I can explain some of the criticisms which have been leveled against this great enterprise only by the supposition that the men who utter the criticisms have never felt the pulse of the great heart of the world.

And I am amazed—not alarmed, but amazed—that there should be in some quarters such a comprehensive ignorance of the state of the world. Those gentlemen do not know what the mind of men is just now. Everybody else does. I do not know where they have been closeted, I do not know by what influences they have been blinded; but I do know that they have been separated from the general currents of the thought of mankind.

And I want to utter this solemn warning, not in the way of a threat—the forces of the world do not threaten; they operate. The great tides of the world do not give notice that they are going to rise and run; they rise in their majesty and overwhelming might, and those who stand in the way are overwhelmed.

Now the heart of the world is awake, and the heart of the world must be satisfied. Do not let yourselves suppose for a moment that the uneasiness in the populations of Europe is due entirely to economic causes or economic motives; something very much deeper underlies it all than that.

They see that their governments have never been able to defend them against intrigue or aggression and that there is no force of foresight or of prudence in any modern cabinet to stop war.

And therefore they say, “There must be some fundamental cause for this,” and the fundamental cause they are

beginning to perceive to be that nations have stood singly or in little jealous groups against each other, fostering prejudice and increasing the danger of war, rather than concerting measures to prevent it; and that if there is right in the world, if there is justice in the world, there is no reason why nations should be divided in the support of justice.

They are therefore saying if you really believe that there is a right, if you really believe that wars ought to be stopped, stop thinking about the rival interests of nations and think about men and women and children throughout the world.

Nations are not made to afford distinction to their rulers by way of success in the manœuvres of politics; nations are meant, if they are meant for anything, to make the men and women and children in them secure and happy and prosperous, and no nation has the right to set up its special interests against the interests and benefits of mankind, least of all this great nation which we love.

It was set up for the benefit of mankind; it was set up to illustrate the highest ideals and to achieve the highest aspirations of men who wanted to be free; and the world—the world of to-day—believes that and counts on us, and would be thrown back into the blackness of despair if we deserted it.

I have tried once and again, my fellow citizens, to say to little circles of friends or to larger bodies what seems to be the real hope of the peoples of Europe, and I tell you frankly I have not been able to do so, because when the thought tries to crowd itself into speech the profound emotion of the thing is too much; speech will not carry. I have felt the tragedy of the hope of those suffering peoples.

It is tragedy because it is a hope which cannot be realized

in its perfection, and yet I have felt besides its tragedy its compulsion, its compulsion upon every living man to exercise every influence that he has to the utmost to see that as little as possible of that hope is disappointed, because if men cannot now, after this agony of bloody sweat, come to their self-possession and see how to regulate the affairs of the world, we will sink back into a period of struggle in which there will be no hope, and, therefore, no mercy.

There can be no mercy where there is no hope, for why should you spare another if you yourself expect to perish? Why should you be pitiful if you can get no pity? Why should you be just if upon every hand you are put upon?

There is another thing which I think the critics of this covenant have not observed. They not only have not observed the temper of the world, but they have not even observed the temper of those splendid boys in khaki that they sent across the seas. I have had the proud consciousness of the reflected glory of those boys, because the Constitution made me their Commander-in-Chief, and they have taught me some lessons.

When we went into the war we went into it on the basis of declarations which it was my privilege to utter, because I believed them to be an interpretation of the purpose and thought of the people of the United States.

And those boys went over there with the feeling that they were sacredly bound to the realization of those ideals; that they were not only going over there to beat Germany; they were not going over there merely with resentment in their hearts against a particular outlaw nation; but that they were crossing those three thousand miles of sea in order to show to Europe that the United States, when it

became necessary, would go anywhere the rights of mankind were threatened.

They would not sit still in the trenches. They would not be restrained by the prudence of experienced Continental commanders. They thought they had come over there to do a particular thing, and they were going to do it and do it at once.

And just as soon as that rush of spirit as well as rush of body came in contact with the lines of the enemy they began to break, and they continued to break until the end. They continued to break, my fellow citizens, not merely because of the physical force of those lusty youngsters, but because of the irresistible spiritual force of the armies of the United States.

It was that they felt. It was that that awed them. It was that that made them feel that if these youngsters ever got a foothold they could never be dislodged, and that therefore every foot of ground that they won was permanently won for the liberty of mankind.

And do you suppose that having felt that crusading spirit of these youngsters, who went over there, not to glorify America, but to serve their fellow men, I am going to permit myself for one moment to slacken in my effort to be worthy of them and of their cause? What I said at the opening I said with a deeper meaning than perhaps you have caught. I do mean not to come back until it's over over there, and it must not be over until the nations of the world are assured of the permanency of peace.

Gentlemen on this side of the water would be very much profited by getting into communication with some gentlemen on the other side of the water. We sometimes think, my fellow citizens, that the experienced statesmen of the

European nations are an unusually hard-headed set of men, by which we generally mean, although we do not admit it, that they are a bit cynical; that they say, "This is a very practical world," by which you always mean that it is not an ideal world; that they do not believe that things can be settled upon an ideal basis.

Well, I never came into intimate contact with them before, but if they used to be that way, they are not that way now. They have been subdued, if that was once their temper, by the awful significance of recent events and the awful importance of what is to ensue; and there is not one of them with whom I have come in contact who does not feel that he cannot in conscience return to his people from Paris unless he has done his utmost to do something more than attach his name to a treaty of peace.

Every man in that Conference knows that the treaty of peace in itself will be inoperative, as Mr. Taft has said, without this constant support and energy of a great organization such as is supplied by the League of Nations.

And men who when I first went over there were skeptical of the possibility of forming a League of Nations admitted that if we could but form it, it would be an invaluable instrumentality through which to secure the operation of the various parts of the treaty; and when that treaty comes back gentlemen on this side will find the covenant not only in it, but so many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant that you cannot dissect the covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure. The structure of peace will not be vital without the League of Nations, and no man is going to bring back a cadaver with him.

I must say that I have been puzzled by some of the criticisms; not by the criticisms themselves—I can understand

them perfectly, even when there was no foundation for them—but the fact of the criticism. I cannot imagine how these gentlemen can live and not live in the atmosphere of the world.

I cannot imagine how they can live and not be in contact with the events of their times, and I particularly cannot imagine how they can be Americans and set up a doctrine of careful selfishness thought out to the last detail.

I have heard no counsel of generosity in their criticism. I have heard no constructive suggestion. I have heard nothing except "Will it not be dangerous to us to help the world?" It would be fatal to us not to help it.

From being what I will venture to call the most famous and the most powerful nation in the world we would of a sudden have become the most contemptible. So I did not need to be told, as I have been told, that the people of the United States would support this covenant. I am an American and I knew they would.

What a sweet revenge it is upon the world. They laughed at us once; they thought we did not mean our professions of principle. They thought so until April of 1917. It was hardly credible to them that we would do more than send a few men over and go through the forms of helping, and when they saw multitudes hastening across the sea, and saw what those multitudes were eager to do when they got to the other side, they stood at amaze and said, "The thing is real! This nation is the friend of mankind, as it said it was!"

The enthusiasm, the hope, the trust, the confidence in the future bred by that change of view, is indescribable. Take an individual American and you may often find him selfish and confined to his special interests; but take the

American in the mass and he is willing to die for an idea.

The sweet revenge, therefore, is this: that we believed in righteousness, and now we are ready to make the supreme sacrifice for it, the supreme sacrifice of throwing in our fortunes with the fortunes of men everywhere.

Mr. Taft was speaking of Washington's utterance about entangling alliances, and if he will permit me to say so, he put the exactly right interpretation upon what Washington said, the interpretation that is inevitable if you read what he said, as most of these gentlemen do not. And the thing that Washington longed for was just what we are now about to supply—an arrangement which will disentangle all entangling alliances in the world.

Nothing entangles, nothing enmeshes a man, except a selfish combination with somebody else. Nothing entangles a nation, hampers it, binds it, except to enter into a combination with some other nation against the other nations of the world. And this great disentanglement of all alliances is now to be accomplished by this covenant, because one of the covenants is that no nation shall enter into any relationship with another nation inconsistent with the covenants of the League of Nations. Nations promise not to make combinations against each other. Nations agree that there shall be but one combination, and that is the combination of all against the wrong-doer.

And so I am going back to my task on the other side with renewed vigor. I had not forgotten what the spirit of the American people is, but I have been immensely refreshed by coming in contact with it again. I did not know how good home felt until I got here.

The only place a man can feel at home is where nothing has to be explained to him. Nothing has to be explained

to me in America, least of all the sentiment of the American people. I mean, about great fundamental things like this. There are many differences of judgment, as to policy, and perfectly legitimate. Sometimes profound differences of judgment, but those are not differences of sentiment, those are not differences of purpose, those are not differences of ideals. And the advantage of not having to have anything explained to you is that you recognize a wrong explanation when you hear it.

In a certain rather abandoned part of the frontier at one time it was said they found a man who told the truth; he was not found telling it, but he could tell it when he heard it. And I think I am in that situation with regard to some of the criticisms I have heard. They do not make any impression on me, because I know there is no medium that will transmit them, and that the sentiment of the country is proof against such narrowness and such selfishness as that.

I commend these gentlemen to communion with their fellow citizens.

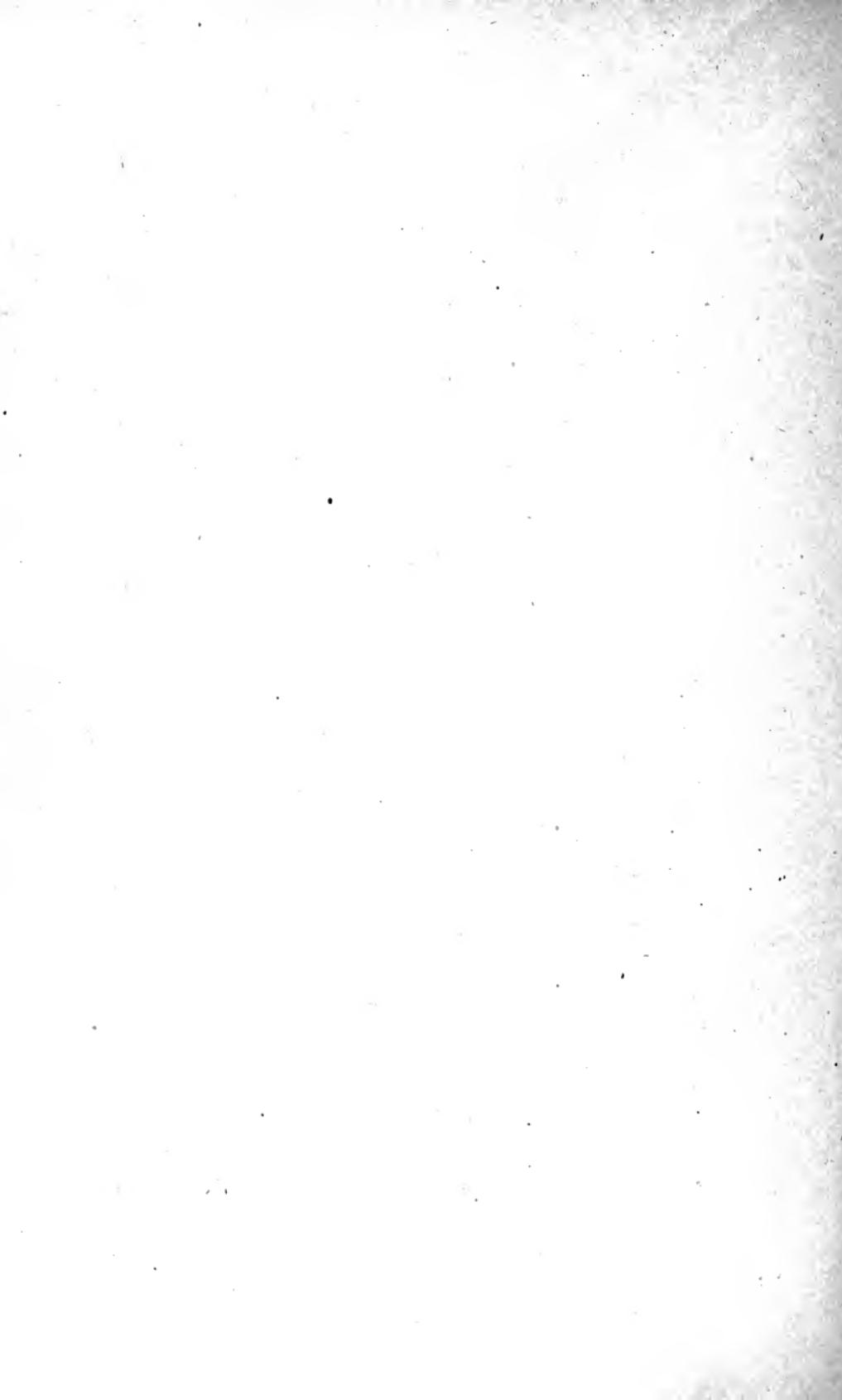
What are we to say, then, as to the future? I think, my fellow citizens, that we can look forward to it with great confidence. I have heard cheering news since I came to this side of the water about the progress that is being made in Paris toward the discussion and clarification of a great many difficult matters. And I believe that settlements will begin to be made rather rapidly from this time on at those conferences. But what I believe—what I know as well as believe—is this: That the men engaged in those conferences are gathering heart as they go, not losing it; that they are finding community of purpose and community of ideal to an extent that perhaps they did not expect, and that amidst all the interplay of influence—because it is infinitely complicated

—amidst all the interplay of influence, there is a forward movement which is running toward the right. Men have at last perceived that the only permanent thing in the world is the right, and that a wrong settlement is bound to be a temporary settlement—bound to be a temporary settlement for the very best reason of all—that it ought to be a temporary settlement, and the spirits of men will rebel against it, and the spirits of men are now in the saddle.

When I was in Italy, a little limping group of wounded Italian soldiers sought an interview with me. I could not conjecture what it was they were going to say to me, and with the greatest simplicity, with a touching simplicity, they presented me with a petition in favor of the League of Nations. Their wounded limbs, their impaired vitality, were the only argument they brought with them. It was a simple request that I lend all the influence I might happen to have to relieve future generations of the sacrifices that they had been obliged to make. That appeal has remained in my mind as I have ridden along the streets of European capitals and heard cries of the crowds, cries for the League of Nations from lips of people who, I venture to say, had no particular vision of how it was to be done, who were not ready to approve a plan for a League of Nations, but whose hearts said that something by way of a combination of all men everywhere must come out of this. As we drove along country roads, weak old women would come out and hold flowers to us. Why should they hold flowers up to strangers from across the Atlantic? Only because they believed we were the messengers of friendship, and of hope, and those flowers were their humble offerings of gratitude that friends from so great a distance should have brought them so great a hope.

It is inconceivable that we should disappoint them, and we shall not. The day will come when men in America will look back with swelling hearts and rising pride that they should have been privileged to make the sacrifice which I am now to make in order to combine their might and their moral power with the cause of justice for men of every kind everywhere. God give us the strength and vision to do it wisely. God give us the privilege of knowing we did it without counting the cost and because we were true Americans, lovers of liberty and the right.

THE APPENDIX



THE FOURTEEN POINTS

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at; after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guaranties given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the

THE APPENDIX

government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored; and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guaranties of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

CONSTITUTION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

COVENANT PREAMBLE

In order to promote international coöperation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rôle of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations:

ARTICLE I

The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the League.

ARTICLE II

Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the League or at such other place as may be found convenient and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may not have more than three representatives.

ARTICLE III

The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other States, members of the League. The selection of these four States shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit.

Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States representatives of . . . shall be members of the Executive Council.

Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the League, and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

Invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting of the Council at which matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such Power unless so invited.

ARTICLE IV

All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointing of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the Executive Council and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE V

The permanent secretariat of the League shall be established at Geneva which shall constitute the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required under the general direction and control of a Secretary-General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council; the secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the States members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE VI

Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy

diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall enjoy the benefits of extra-territoriality.

ARTICLE VII

Admission to the League of States not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the covenant requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the body of delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No State shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guaranties of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

ARTICLE VIII

The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State; and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being made to the necessities of these countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programs.

ARTICLE IX

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article VIII and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE X

The high contracting parties undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE XI

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstances affecting international intercourse which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE XII

The high contracting parties agree that should a dispute arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

In any case under this article, the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE XIII

The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award, the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be given to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE XIV

The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

ARTICLE XV

If there should arise between States members of the League any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the Council lead to the settlement of the dispute a statement shall be published indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the Council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the Council thinks just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the Council other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go

to war with any party which complies with the recommendations and that, if any party shall refuse so to comply, the Council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendation. If no such unanimous report can be made, it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The Executive Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In any case referred to the body of delegates all the provisions of this article and of Article XII relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

ARTICLE XVI

Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Article XII, it shall thereby *de facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nations and the nations of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nations of the covenant-breaking State and the nations of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The high contracting parties agree further that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the high contracting parties who are coöoperating to protect the covenants of the League.

ARTICLE XVII

In the event of disputes between one State member of the League and another State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the high contracting parties agree that the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League.

Upon such invitation being given, the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a Power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and taking any action against a State member of the League which in the case of a State member of the League would constitute a breach of Article XII, the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE XVIII

The high contracting parties agree that the League shall be intrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interests.

ARTICLE XIX

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of

civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory Power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory Power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Isles, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical continuity to the mandatory State, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory State as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the mandatory State shall render to the League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The decree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory State shall, if not previously agreed upon by the

high contracting parties, in each case be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter.

The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual report of the mandatory Powers, and to assist the League in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

ARTICLE XX

The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League a permanent Bureau of Labor.

ARTICLE XXI

The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

ARTICLE XXII

The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under the control of the League.

ARTICLE XXIII

The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary-General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE XXIV

It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE XXV

The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the Powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such Power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE XXVI

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates.





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